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ABSTRACT

An analysis of adverbial placement in written contemporary English focuses not on the sentence or clause context, as in conventional analyses, but on the textual or discoursal influences on placement. Specifically, the study examines: (1) the major textual and discoursal motivations behind clause-initial placement of adverbials of time and place in two types of text (narratives and procedural place descriptions); (2) central notions such as text strategy, text type, or text-strategic continuity; (3) a text typology for study of texts; and (4) contributions to general knowledge of text and discourse. An introductory chapter describes basic concepts of text and discourse under consideration. In chapter 2, adverbials are viewed from a sentence-grammar perspective. Chapter 3 outlines the study's methods and materials, and text strategy is discussed in general terms in chapter 4. In chapters 5-7, the textual and discourse factors are discussed individually with respect to their effects on adverbial placement. Chapter 5 presents a typology of texts, and chapter 6 looks at text-strategic continuities in four sample texts. Information dynamics, or the distribution of given and new information within a text, are considered in chapter 7, and the final chapter synthesizes the interplay of the different factors in text processing. A sample text and analyses are appended. (MSE)

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Tuija Virtanen

Discourse Functions of Adverbial Placement in English

Clause-Initial Adverbials of Time and Place in Narratives and Procedural Place Descriptions

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Tuija Virtanen is at present
acting as a senior lecturer
in the Department of English
at Åbo Akademi (the Swedish-language
university of Finland)
in Åbo, Finland.

Åbo Akademi University Press
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Tuija Virtanen

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ABBREVIATIONS

123n = Note on page 123
ADJ = adjective
BEARS = Boase 1983; see Bibliography: 1. Texts
Brown = *The Brown University Corpus of American English*
CATS = Rowand 1966; see Bibliography: 1. Texts
CD = communicative dynamism
CGEL = Quirk et al. 1985; see Bibliography: 2. Studies
CIF = crucial information first
CIO = crucial information only
EDIN = Hamilton 1978; see Bibliography: 1. Texts
fc. = forthcoming
FSP = functional sentence perspective
GCE = Quirk et al. 1979; see Bibliography: 2. Studies
GFM = McGregor Eadie 1981; see Bibliography: 1. Texts
KWIC = the Key-Word-In-Context concordance (of the Brown and LOB corpora)
LLC = *The London-Lund Corpus of Spoken British English*
LOB = *The Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English*
LSP = language for special/specific purposes
ms. = manuscript
NP = noun phrase
OIF = old information first
par. = paragraph
p.c. = personal communication
S = sentence
TLS = *The Times Literary Supplement*
TSC = text-strategic continuity
TOP-node = node governing e.g. fronted adverbials in the X-bar model of 2.4.
V = verb
V^1 = verbal node in the X-bar model of 2.4.
V^2 = verbal node in the X-bar model of 2.4.
V^3 = verbal node in the X-bar model of 2.4.

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study is concerned with adverbial placement in contemporary written English, and thus with phenomena that have already been the focus of several studies in linguistics. These phenomena have, however, usually been considered within what will here be called *sentence grammar:* adverbial positions have typically been defined within their clause and the sentence. The present study had its starting point in the observation, repeatedly made by Enkvist, that the positions of adverbials cannot be fully explained only with regard to the sentence in which they occur. Several of the factors that may influence the placement of adverbials in their clause or sentence are textual or discoursal in character. Therefore, the perspective from which adverbials are viewed in this study fundamentally differs from that used in most work done so far in this field.

To take an example, Enkvist points out that the position of a sentence-initial adverbial such as *into a separate pot* in (1), below, is not satisfactorily explained if we only take into account the different forces at play within the sentence.

(1) *Into a separate pot*, put half the butter. (Wilson 1972:98)

The slot the adverbial appears in is not a typical one. Rather, motivations such as the tight valency ties of this structurally obligatory element to the verb of the clause would favour a clause-final placement (i.e. *put half the butter into a separate pot).* Separated from its textual and discoursal context, the sentence may look more or less deviant, and it is in fact only when we consider its discourse function that we may see the naturalness of such a placement. Representative of usage in cookery books, this example reflects the need to follow in the text the order of the steps which the text receiver is instructed to take, to achieve the aim of the text. Thus, the purpose of the text, among other factors, has here affected the writer's *text strategy* so that the grammatically obligatory adverbial of place has been positioned clause-initially as this placement was felt to be optimal for the *textual fit* of the sentence (cf. e.g. Enkvist 1981:99-104).

Thus, as Enkvist has frequently emphasized, we often find reasons why a sentence looks the way it does if we try to explain the work it does within the text. The aim of the present study is to illustrate some of the textual and discoursal motivations for adverbial placement in English. To establish some of the textual factors that influence the position of adverbials in their clause, some rather extreme types of text and a few different classes of adverbials have been chosen. Interesting as it would be to examine all types of adverbials in all positions, a strict delimitation of the field of study has obviously been necessary. Attention will only be paid to adverbials denoting 'time' and 'place'. The position most relevant for the present analysis of the textual and discoursal functions of adverbial placement is the clause-initial one, i.e., roughly, placement before the subject of the clause.

More specifically, the study has the following aims:

(a) to establish some of the major textual and discoursal motivations behind the clause-initial placement of adverbials of time and place in two types of text, i.e. narratives and procedural place descriptions;
(b) to provide a conceptual analysis of a number of central notions, such as text strategy, text type, or text-strategic continuity;
(c) to outline a text-typological model for the study of texts; and finally,
(d) the more general aim of adding to our knowledge of text and discourse.

Motivations for the focusing of the study are dealt with in Chapters 2 and 3. In Chapter 2, adverbials are viewed essentially from a sentence-grammar perspective. Some previous studies of adverbial positions are reviewed and their utility for the present study briefly discussed. Further, a syntactic model for adverbial classification is presented in 2.4. Chapter 3 is devoted to the choice of methods and materials.

Chapters 4 to 8 concentrate on textual and discoursal factors influencing the placement of adverbials in their clause. Text strategy is discussed in general terms in Chapter 4, and a schema showing some of its implications is outlined. Starting with text types in Chapter 5, the textual and discoursal factors under investigation are dealt with one after the other in order to outline their respective effects on adverbial placement. After that, a brief synthesis is attempted in 8.2., to picture the interplay of the different factors, their "conflicts and conspiracies" in text processing, to use Enkvistian terminology. Finally, by way of conclusion, it is of interest to relate adverbial placement more generally to a text-typological framework. This is the concern of 8.3.

Before going on to Chapter 2, however, it may be in order to specify how the basic concepts of *text* and *discourse* will be used in the present study. Another pair of notions to be considered at this point is that of *clause* and *sentence*.

1.1. Some basic concepts

The two terms *text* and *discourse* are sometimes used interchangeably in the literature. For some linguists, again, *text* refers to written language and *discourse* to spoken language. For others, still, *texts* may be spoken or written, and they may involve one or more text producers, which then leaves *discourse* for other uses. For surveys of definitions of the two terms, see Virtanen 1988a:3-7; 1990b; Vitacolonna 1988.

I shall follow Enkvist in adopting the British view of *text* as discourse without context, and *discourse*, correspondingly, as text and its situational context (see e.g. Enkvist 1984:65n; 1989a:163n; 1989b:371-372; cf. also e.g. Brown and Yule 1983:1, 6ff.; Edmondson 1981:4; Hoey 1991:212-213, 266, 269, 270n; and in particular, Widdowson's influential definitions, see e.g. Widdowson 1979a:90ff.). *Discourse* thus includes *text* (cf. also Fernandez-Vest 1985:8; Leech 1983:59). Interpreted in this way, both terms may come into the picture when the form of a sentence is investigated. Accordingly, the title of the present study contains the term *discourse*, while in the course of the study, a difference will be made between *text* and *discourse* when necessary or particularly illuminating (cf. e.g. *text types* and *discourse types* in 4.1. below). At the same time, it seems natural to adopt the term *text* as the basic notion as the study starts out from the product, to make hypotheses about the processes that may be assumed to lie behind it.[1]

---

[1] For discussions of the distinction between *process* and *product* in linguistic research, see e.g. de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:33; Brown and Yule 1983:23ff.; Enkvist 1982b: 629ff.; Fernandez-Vest 1987:27; Givón 1983a:12-13; Halliday and Hasan 1985:10; Widdowson 1979b:71; Witte and Cherry 1986:113ff.

To complicate the picture, however, the distinction between *text* and *discourse* is not necessarily clear-cut. This is so because, with the growing emphasis on processes in linguistics, *text* as the product of the discourse process is assigned characteristics that bring it further away from a mere structural notion towards the processual aspects of text production and comprehension. Enkvist's discussion of four superimposable text models - i.e. the *sentence-based, predication-based, cognitive* and *interactional* text models - reflects the development of text and discourse linguistics from a static approach to a dynamic one.[2] This discussion may be related to the development of *text* from a descriptive structural concept, that of a supra-sentential unit, towards a more processual concept that easily also incorporates situational factors (see e.g. Enkvist 1981:102-104; 1984:45-48). Accordingly, Enkvist uses the term *text and discourse linguistics* - or alternatively, *discourse linguistics* - to cover both text linguistics, discourse analysis, and conversation analysis (cf. e.g Enkvist 1984:45; 1985c; 1989b:372; cf. also *analyse textualo-discursive* in Fernandez-Vest 1988). For further discussion and references, see also Virtanen 1988a:4-7; 1990b.

The present study is, to a large extent, an investigation of text as structure. Yet, its ultimate aim is an attempt to reconstruct the *text strategy,* in other words, the process that may be assumed to lie behind the product (see Chapter 4). It is evident that in studying text strategy, one will have to resort to the hypothesized communication situation. Thus, for instance, guesses about the different alternatives that the text producer had at her/his disposal during the textualization process and her/his motivations for the choice visible in the actual product will focus somewhere between the domains of *text* and *discourse*. Strategies may be interpreted partly as textual or text-internal and partly as discoursal, depending on where one wishes to draw the borderline and if indeed one wishes to draw any. To avoid a distinction between *text strategy* and *dis-*

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[2] ***Sentence-based text models***, of the type Halliday and Hasan 1976, show how texts are constructed in terms of intersentential cohesion. ***Predication-based text models***, next, start from a number of predications that may be differently textualized, cf. e.g. Källgren 1979. If we are interested in investigating where such predications come from, we enter into the domain of ***cognitive text models***. Such models are typically used in psycholinguistics and in research connected with artificial intelligence. Finally, if we wish to find out why a text producer chooses a particular set of such predications in a given situation, we need ***interactional text models***. These are chosen, for instance, in conversation analyses of different kinds, in pragmatics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics (Enkvist 1981:102-104; 1984:45-48).

course strategy, which would be uneconomical in the present study, both textual and discoursal factors influencing the form of a sentence will here be considered under the umbrella term *text strategy*.

In terms of the four text models mentioned above, the approach of the present study may be characterized as basically predication-based. Parallel to this model, however, an interactional view will also be adopted, as suggested by the hypotheses that will be made about the text producer's strategies and about possible motives behind such strategies. Notions belonging to the domain of cognitive models will be referred to where they prove helpful and explanatory. Before proceeding to the textual analysis, however, we need to consider adverbials in terms of sentence grammar. And to do this, the use of *clause* and *sentence* in the study must be specified.

The present study adopts *clause* as its basic syntactic unit. The notion will be used in the sense of CGEL, in which it is characterized from a number of different perspectives, rather than defined in any one stringent way. A clause thus basically consists of a number of clause elements, i.e. the subject, verb, object, complement, and adverbial. Most clauses contain at least a finite or nonfinite verb, and usually also a subject (cf., however, the discussion of *verbless clauses* in CGEL:992, 996-997; for *clause*, see CGEL:49-59, 719ff., 987ff., 992ff., et passim). The next most frequent after the subject and the verb is the adverbial (CGEL:478n). This clause element will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

Clauses may be downgraded or *rankshifted* (Halliday 1961:251ff.), to function, for instance, as adverbials. Consider, in this light, the following temporal finite clause functioning as an adverbial in the sentence:[3]

(2) *When we got back to the shore*, we had been in the water for 2 1/2 hours. (Scott 1983:77)

Since the present study is concerned with written language, *sentence* will be used in the sense of the orthographic unit signalled by punctuation (see e.g. CGEL:1623-1624). The maximal syntactic unit of *sentence* (cf. the notion of *sentence grammar)* is here regarded as primarily a textual unit. It cannot, however, be generally viewed as the minimal textual unit as many textual phenomena may also take place within the limits of a clause (cf. e.g. grounding, discussed e.g. in Wårvik 1987; see also e.g. Labov and Waletzky 1967:13, 21). In the present study, the distinction between clause and sentence is heuristically useful: both clause-initial and sentence-initial adverbials may be of interest as they may signal text strategies at work on local or global levels in the text.[4]

---

[3] The notion of *rank* is crucial in any quantitative study of clause elements. A count of the number of adverbials in a corpus, for instance, will give different results according to the ranks included. Consider, in this light, the temporal clause and other adverbials in sentence (2), and the adverbials of place functioning within the adverbial clause.

Adverbials will be viewed in sentence-grammatical terms in Chapter 2. To account for the form of particular clauses and sentences - with respect to the placement of the adverbials under attention - the study will, from Chapter 4 onwards, concentrate on the text and discourse of which these sentences are part.

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[4] Traditional grammars use *sentence* as their basic unit when viewing grammatical relationships (see e.g. Jespersen 1949:53; Kruisinga 1932a:123; 1932b:318, 356; Sweet 1898:1, 27; 1900:155ff.). *Clauses* are then typically discussed in connection with coordination and subordination. Transformationalists generally use the term *sentence* for both clauses and sentences (see e.g. Chomsky 1965; Stockwell et al. 1973). For a discussion of the two notions in GCE, see Greenbaum 1980. For *clause* and/or *sentence* in text and discourse, see e.g. de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:49; Butt 1988; Grimes 1975:107ff. et passim; Halliday 1978:129, 135; Hoey 1991:214-216, 268-269; Longacre 1983:291-295 et passim; Tatilon 1988.

2. ADVERBIALS

In the introductory chapter above, my use of a few basic concepts - *text*, *discourse*, *clause*, and *sentence* - was indicated. Before proceeding to the discussion of the methods and materials of the study in Chapter 3, let us view adverbials and adverbial placement in sentence-grammatical terms. The purpose of the present chapter is thus to zoom in the focus of the study, i.e. adverbials denoting 'time' and 'place' that occur clause-initially. After a discussion of the concept of *adverbial*, some previous studies of adverbial placement will be considered. Next, clause-initial position and the justifications for concentrating the study on that particular slot will be dealt with. Before concluding the chapter by giving motivations also for the choice of adverbials to be examined here, in-depth variation in adverbial classification will be considered in the light of syntactic models.

2.1. The concept of adverbial

As the present study is concerned with the placement of adverbials in their clause, it is convenient to start from the concept of *adverbial*.[1] As is well known, adverbials are usually treated as a rag-bag category in grammar, and it is in fact questionable whether they should at all be regarded as one group in syntactic classification. It does not seem possible to find criteria that fit all members of the group. For the present purposes, a short characterization of the notion will be enough. In the following, I have chosen to adhere to CGEL.

As was pointed out in 1.1., on p. 5 above, CGEL distinguishes five types of clause elements: subject, verb, object, complement, and adverbial. Clause elements may be placed on a scale of *centrality* vs. *peripherality*, using criteria such as position, obligatoriness vs. optionality, mobility, and the potentiality of determining what other elements must occur in the clause. Adverbials as a group are situated at the peripheral end of the spectrum. They are usually optional, and frequently appear at the end of their clause. Also, they are relatively mobile. They offer more choice in their placement than other clause elements. Finally, they do not determine what other clause elements must occur (CGEL:49-50; cf. also GCE:349).[2]

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[1] The present study is concerned with *adverbials*, i.e. a syntactic unit, and not with *adverbs*, i.e. a word-class. *Adverbials* may thus have realizations that differ from the one-word items traditionally called *adverbs*.

In addition to these characteristics, adverbials are a special class also in view of the range of semantic and grammatical functions as well as the different structures available to them. Furthermore, the number of adverbials in the clause is not limited, and they appear very frequently in both written and spoken language, as shown, for instance, by the figures obtained from the Survey of English Usage corpus (CGEL:478).[3]

As the aim of the present work is to examine the various textual and discoursal functions that a particular positioning of a particular adverbial in its clause may have, there is no need here to establish strict syntactic criteria for "adverbiality", or to be concerned with the different definitions of the term in the literature. This is so, first, because *adverbial* is a syntactic concept, and it is of interest in this study because its position often seems to be affected by textual considerations. Sentences, as pointed out above, are not autonomous. They serve the discourse and text they appear in, and they thus look the way they do because they have a function in the text (for a discussion, see e.g. Enkvist 1975). Therefore, the exact status in the clause of the elements under investigation here lies outside the scope of the study.

Secondly and more importantly, in the course of the study it will become evident that other types of syntactic elements also have to be taken into account once the focus is on textual phenomena. In a study of text and discourse, a continuous shift from a bird's-eye view to a worm's-eye view and back again is a necessity rather than a choice. Both the top-down and the bottom-up approaches to the problems at hand will be used. Hence, the present study is concerned with the textual and discoursal functions of the initial placement of adverbials denoting 'time' and 'place'. Starting from syntactic signals an attempt is thus made to proceed towards text and discourse. On the other hand, it is of interest to study the way in which textual and discoursal phenomena are realized in clauses and sentences. Starting from global coherence in a text a similar attempt is made to proceed towards the linguistic manifestations of such coherence, towards its syntactic markers such as a particular adverbial placement. When a non-adverbial element - e.g. a temporal or locative NP functioning as the subject of the clause, as in (1) and (2) below - participates in a chain of temporal or locative items that otherwise mainly comprises adverbials, that clause element has to be taken into account as well.

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[2] The idea of the verb being more central, and the other clause elements more or less closely connected with the verb is obviously present in traditional grammar. For instance, Jespersen notes that adverbs, prepositional groups, and clauses are more peripheral than certain other clause elements, which are more close to the verb (Jespersen 1949:53). The scale of *centrality* vs. *peripherality* to clause structure is, however, used more systematically in CGEL, as well as in GCE, and it thus opens new perspectives. This idea is of course even more basic in valency and dependency grammars, cf. e.g. Tesnière 1969. For verb valency in English, see e.g. Allerton 1982.

[3] There are approximately 15 adverbials per 100 running words in both the spoken and the written material of the corpus. As regards frequency, adverbials come right after the categories of subject and verb. Another interesting observation is that most clauses contain at least one adverbial (CGEL:478n; cf. also Crystal 1980b:161).

(1) *Sunday* saw me over at my uncles [*sic*]. I parked Bessie outside and--- (SEU W.7.3:184-185)[4]

(2) Upstairs, in the tool room is a display of different island stones used in building--- In one corner are roof decorations--- Along one side is a model of a quarryman--- *Another wall* displays agricultural tools including wooden hayworks. (GFM:11-14)[5]

A delimitation is, however, needed here, as any linguistic element may in principle have a textual function of some kind.

The present study concentrates on adverbials denoting 'time' and 'place' (for motivations, see 2.5., pp. 28-29 below). All linguistic structures realizing adverbials and all semantic sub-classes of 'time' and 'place' will be examined. Other clause elements indicating these notions that occasionally come into the picture for instance by belonging to a chain of textually crucial elements, as explained above, will also be included in the analysis. The main focus of the study is, however, on clause-initial adverbials of time and place, irrespective of their structure.

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[4] The example is from a social letter included in the *Survey of English Usage*, University College London, and the reference reads as follows: '*Survey of English Usage*, Written Corpus, Text category 7, Text 3, Sentences 184 and 185'.

[5] For the entire text, see Appendix 1.

Let us now turn to the positioning of adverbials in their clause, starting with a brief survey of some previous studies of adverbial placement in English. A discussion of the clause-initial position will follow in 2.3, and the ease with which adverbials with different syntactic functions may appear in that position will be examined in 2.4.

2.2. Previous studies of adverbial placement

It seems convenient to relate previous work on the subject to a more general discussion of word-order models. Different models of word order have been discussed by Kohonen and by Enkvist (Enkvist 1984:50-51; p.c.;[6] Kohonen 1978:49ff.). Although traditionally used, *word order* is of course not the best possible term for the order of constituents in a clause or sentence, as it also includes the order of various elements other than words (i.e. phrases and clauses). Enkvist proposes the much better term *linearization* as the ordering of constituents in fact concerns the linear signalling of the hierarchic relationships in language (Enkvist 1976b:5; 1986:252). Bearing this in mind, I shall, however, here speak of *word order*, and thus follow the common usage in the literature.

The approach to word order found in traditional grammars, as well as in most school grammars, may be called *relative*, as it deals with the relative order of mostly two different elements. Examples of this word-order model are discussions of the relative order of the subject and the verb, or that of a noun and its modifier. A drawback of this model is the lack of an overall view of the phenomenon (Enkvist 1984:50; Kohonen 1978:49).

The treatment of adverbial positions in traditional grammar thus follows the relative model of word order. Often a list of possible slots for adverbials to go into is first given, but the placement of different adverbials, or different semantic classes of adverbials, is then dealt with relating the adverbial under attention to one or two other clause constituents at a time. Hence, the typical question in such a discussion is whether a particular type of adverbial precedes or follows a particular constituent, e.g. the subject, or the verb of the clause. For the relative word-order model in connection with adverbial placement, see e.g. Jespersen 1949:84ff.; Kruisinga 1932b:211ff., 341ff.; Poutsma 1928:427ff.; Sweet 1898:18ff.

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[6] Different models of word order were discussed in a seminar on word order given by N.E. Enkvist for the research group "Style and Text" at Åbo Akademi in January 1985.

The traditional description of adverbial placement, and that of word order in general, makes a distinction between a *normal* order and an *exceptional* order (see e.g. Kruisinga 1932b:318, 356; Sweet 1898:2). Exceptional order is, for instance, typically one in which a declarative clause starts with a constituent other than the subject of the clause, and we may thus find observations concerning adverbial fronting in this type of section (see e.g. Kruisinga 1932b:356ff.; Sweet 1898:26; cf. also 2.3. below).

Characteristic of structuralism, especially of tagmemics, is the word-order model that could be called *slot-and-filler*. A number of slots are defined, and the constituent classes are then examined in terms of the slots they typically fill. This model easily becomes too delicate if too many slots are distinguished, as several of them then merge into one another when some of the potential constituents are missing from the actual clause or sentence (Enkvist 1984:50-51; Kohonen 1978:49-51; cf. also Crystal 1980a, *tagmemics*).

Obviously, traditional grammar also uses the idea of slots, such as *front-position*, *mid-position*, and *end-position*, but word order is still basically treated from the relative point of view, as noted above (see e.g. Sweet 1898:1; cf. also terms such as *pre-position* and *post-position*, connected with the relative model).

From the perspective of adverbial placement, Jacobson's descriptive study of *Adverbial Positions in English* is a representative example of the slot-and-filler model (Jacobson 1964). A great number of slots are first defined, and adverbials are then viewed from the perspective of their ability to fill these various slots. The dictionary part gives percentages of occurrences of various adverbs in the main three slots - front-, mid-, and end-positions - with further details concerning various sub-classes of these slots. Jacobson's material comes primarily from contemporary British fictional and non-fictional prose. The statistical accounts do not, however, take text type into consideration, which seriously reduces the potential benefit of the dictionary part to a textual or discoursal study (Jacobson 1964:6-7; 60ff., 211ff.).

Slot-and-filler is a word-order model that is still in frequent use, especially in descriptive and prescriptive work. According to much the same principles as its predecessor GCE, CGEL treats adverbial placement basically from a slot-and-filler perspective. GCE gives four different slots for adverbials in declarative clauses: an initial position, an end position, and two medial positions. One of the problems a slot-and-filler model must grapple with is that positions are frequently neutralized. The two mid-positions, for instance, merge if the clause does not contain auxiliaries (GCE:426). In CGEL, the number of slots has been augmented. In addition to initial position, four different medial positions and two end positions are now distinguished (CGEL:490-501). An application of the CGEL model may be found in Lindquist 1989, who continues the Jacobsonian tradition in a sentence-grammatical study of adverbials occurring on the first pages in five British and five American novels and their Swedish translations.

A third word-order model has been used within the framework of the transformational-generative grammar. A basic or canonical sentence structure[7] is postulated, and departures from it are accounted for in terms of various movement transformations. This model could therefore be called *canonical-and-movement*. In the early stages of the generative-transformational grammar, word order was not one of the main interests: it has rather emerged as an inevitable by-product (Enkvist 1984:50-51; p.c., cf. Note 6 above; Kohonen 1978:51ff.). The more recent history of movement operations is too complicated to be summarized here (see e.g. Chomsky 1981; Holmberg 1986).

If word order does not lie in the main focus within transformational literature, the case is similar, if not worse, as far as adverbials are concerned. The term may be mentioned but it rarely appears in the rules and diagrams of the studies following this approach (cf. e.g. Chomsky 1965; Stockwell et al. 1973:26). Jackendoff's study differs from the generative work of the time in that it contains an entire chapter devoted to adverbs (Jackendoff 1972:47ff.; cf. also Lakoff 1970 for a transformational analysis of temporal and locative adverbs).

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[7] As pointed out in Note 4 in 1.1. above (p. 6), the term *sentence* is normally used for both clauses and sentences in the transformational-generative grammar. Cf. also the use of *sentence* in traditional grammar (see Note 4 in 1.1. above, p. 6). Traditional grammars, as mentioned above, also postulate a normal or usual order of clause constituents.

In the second half of the 70's, generative rules and representations for adverbials and their placement started to appear in the literature more frequently than before (cf. e.g. Andersson 1977; Emonds 1976; Jacobson 1978:87ff.). With the growing interest in pragmatics, one domain that has particularly attracted the attention of generative semanticists is the difference between the so-called *sentence adverbials* (or *speech-act adverbials, discourse adverbials, pragmatic adverbials*, etc.) and *predication adverbials* (cf. e.g. Corum 1974; 1975; Jackendoff 1972:47ff.; Michell 1974; Schreiber 1972).

FSP (= Functional Sentence Perspective) and *information structure* provide the basis for the fourth word-order model, in which elements conveying old or given information are supposed to precede those containing new information if the clause or the sentence is not marked otherwise (Enkvist, p.c., cf. Note 6 above; Kohonen 1978:54-58). The flow from old to new information is scalar rather than discrete.

Let me mention as examples of Prague School linguists who repeatedly discuss adverbials and their placement, on the one hand, Jan Firbas, and on the other, Petr Sgall and his collaborators (see e.g. Firbas 1981; 1986; 1987; Sgall et al. 1973:181ff.; Sgall et al. 1986:194ff.). Some of the work on FSP concerning adverbial positions will be further dealt with in Chapter 7, below, which is devoted to the information status of the textually functioning adverbials examined in the present study.

Kohonen divides the four word-order models discussed above into surface-order models - i.e. the relative, and the slot-and-filler models - and deep-structure models, which he calls dynamic. These include case theory and dependency grammar, FSP, Emonds's (1976) *root and structure-preserving transformations*, and word-order constraints in main and subordinate clauses in terms of the *penthouse principle* by Ross (1973) and Green's (1976) *main clause phenomena* (see Kohonen 1978:49-63). Ross's and Green's studies build on Emonds's approach and attempt at revising the model. Both include a discussion of initially placed adverbials in subordinate clauses.

While Kohonen (1978:51) sees the transformational model already as an essentially dynamic model, Enkvist points out that the first three word-order models - i.e. the relative, the slot-and-filler, and the canonical-and-movement models - basically approach language as structure. The fourth, again, based on information structure, views language rather as process (Enkvist, p.c.;[8] cf. also discussion in 1.1. above, p. 4). If movement transformations are assumed to be psychologically real, the canonical-and-movement model may in principle be called processual. An FSP model, however, starts out from a view of language as process, in terms of the incrementally augmenting degrees of *communicative dynamism* in text production and text comprehension.[9] At a certain point in a text, the FSP analyst may either look back to see how the text has developed up to that point, or s/he may look forward to see how the text may continue. One of the aims of the present study is to show how aspects of adverbial placement left uncovered by sentence grammar and by a structural view of language may be accounted for if, one, we include text and discourse into the model, and two, we strive for a more processualist perspective on the subject (for a discussion of the *structuralist* and the *processualist* approach in linguistics, see e.g. Enkvist 1982b:629ff.; cf. also Note 1 in 1.1. above, p. 3).

The four models of word order considered above all basically operate on the level of clause or sentence. To account for the distribution of given and new information in the text, i.e. *thematic progression* (Daneš 1974) or *theme dynamics* (Enkvist 1973), one has to view the text as a whole (see Chapter 7). The same applies, of course, to other textual factors as well, as will become evident in the course of the study.

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[8] Cf. Note 6 on p. 10 above. In fact, Enkvist points out that even the classical structuralist view may be interpreted as processual in the sense that structures were defined on the basis of a discovery procedure. In transformational grammar, next, structures were taken to be the result of a number of generative processes. The gradual shift to process linguistics, however, only takes place when linguists start recognizing the importance of processes, rather than structures, as the goal of analysis. Structures may, then, be used to get at processes that are taken to lie behind them (Enkvist 1982b:631ff.).

[9] Reference is here made to the unmarked instance, in which the ***interpretative arrangement*** and the ***linear arrangement*** of sentence elements converge (cf. e.g. Firbas 1986:47). Cf. also 7.2.2., below. *Communicative dynamism* (*CD* for short) "refers to a quality displayed by the development of information toward a particular communicative goal. The degree of CD carried by a linguistic element is the relative extent to which this element contributes toward the further development of the communication" (Firbas 1986:42).

2.3. Adverbials in clause-initial position

Clause-initial position has so far been defined as the slot before the subject of the clause. Obviously, a clause-initial item also precedes the verb, whether this comes before or after the subject. An adverbial will, however, be considered clause-initial even if it follows a conjunction or another adverbial. This is also the initial position in CGEL, i.e. the position before any other clause element (cf. 2.1. above; CGEL:491). In the instances where the criterion of the subject and the verb following the item under investigation is not enough to define initial position, and where initial position therefore cannot be distinguished from a mid-position, I have still taken the adverbial into account as the present study is not a quantitative one.[10]

Initial position is important in the present study for several reasons. Textually speaking, it is a crucial position, on the one hand, because it is easy for the element placed here to connect the clause or the sentence with what has preceded, and on the other hand, because it is the natural starting-point for the rest of the clause or sentence. It is an interesting position in terms of textual and discoursal phenomena such as *cohesion*, *information structure*, and *salience*, which will be further discussed in the course of the study.

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[10] Thus, for instance, the status and the assumed position of the subject in the following examples are questions that lie outside the scope of the present study. The underlined adverbials have here been interpreted as clause-initial.

(1a) ***Finely*** mince together the beef, lamb and pork, mixing the meat well together. ***In a large saucepan***, ***lightly*** sauté the tomatoes, green pepper, onion, pimiento and garlic cloves in the butter, ***then*** remove them. (Wilson 1972:98)

(1b) Beat the egg-whites until very stiff and continue beating, ***gradually*** adding the sugar. (Wilson 1972:46)

(1c) ***Simply*** follow the roadworks round the hairpin bend, and ***when the road - now asphalted - turns away downhill to the right***, climb the small bank up left and veer left to rejoin the levada. (Underwood and Underwood 1983:62-63)

(2a) We followed him for three or four hundred yards and *finally* came upon a huge animal quietly feeding in front of us. (Scott 1983:126)

(2b) ***When we had finished*** we were pretty cold but the rain eased and *finally* stopped in time for Tony and Moncayo to cook up some corned beef hash and beans and some coffee. (Scott 1983:126)

(2c) But he got up and *first* shook one leg - no, that was not broken; and ***then*** another, and that was not broken; and another and another, and ***then*** he wagged his tail and found there were no bones broken. (Lines 1961:56)

Secondly, adverbials appearing in initial position are liable to function in the service of the text, for instance, as markers of text type or text strategy as well as text segmentation (cf. esp. Chapters 5 and 6 below).

The third motivation for concentrating the study on initial position is the fact that this position is syntactically marked for most categories of adverbials. This will be the concern of 2.4, below. Before proceeding to the in-depth variation in adverbial categories, however, let us take a closer look at initial position and adverbials occurring in that slot.

Several of the old grammarians note that front-position is especially important.[11] The main motivations for this statement seem to be that this placement puts emphasis on the initially positioned item, or that it creates contrast (cf. e.g. Jespersen 1949:57, 83; Kruisinga 1932b:356; Poutsma 1928:387ff.; Sweet 1898:3, 23, 26). Some grammarians point out that sentence connection may also motivate such a placement, and that, in that case, no particular emphasis is given to the initially positioned item (cf. e.g. Kruisinga 1932b:356; Sweet 1898:23, 26). Donner words the effect of adverb-fronting as follows (Donner 1951:67):

> "Vill man sedan ytterligare framhålla ett adverb som i sig själv är betydelsefullt och som därför intar sin naturliga plats efter sitt huvudord, återstår i vissa fall möjligheten att ställa det allra först i satsen i en position av det allra starkaste eftertryck, varifrån hela den övriga satsen sedan liksom rinner ut, som en bergsbäck från sin källa."[12]

Greenbaum proposes the ability of an adverbial to appear initially in a declarative clause as one of the major criteria for distinguishing between *adjuncts*, i.e adverbials that are to some degree integrated into clause structure, and on the other hand, *disjuncts* and *conjuncts*, which are more or less peripheral to the structure of the clause. The criterion is made stronger by adding negation into the test clause. Peripheral adverbials appear in this position more easily than integrated ones (Greenbaum 1969:18ff.). Greenbaum's classification of adverbials is used in GCE (GCE:268-269, 421ff.), and in a modified form in CGEL (CGEL:440-441, 501ff.). It will be further dealt with in 2.4., below.

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[11] Traditional grammars obviously also note that end-position is one of prominence. Further, there are implications of the different nature of prominence as realized through these two different positions (see e.g. Jespersen 1949:54ff., 83-84; Poutsma 1928:387ff.). In general, any unusual placement of any item is said to serve the purpose of emphasis (cf. e.g. Kruisinga 1932b:356; Sweet 1898:3).

[12] In case one then wishes to call further attention to an adverb that in itself is significant and therefore finds its natural position after its head-word, there remains in certain cases the possibility of placing it at the very beginning of the sentence in a position of extreme emphasis, from which all the rest of the sentence then, as it were, gushes forth, like a mountain brook gushing from its source.

How common is it, then, for adverbials, particularly of time and place, to appear at the outset of their clause? To my knowledge, there exists today no comprehensive quantitative study of the frequency or placement of different types of adverbials in different types of spoken and written texts that would be based on identical criteria throughout the analysis.[13] From various treatments of adverbials, we may, however, extract the following numerical information.

On the whole and especially concerning front position, Jacobson's materials, which consist of written English, contain much fewer adverbials of place than those indicating time (Jacobson 1964:80, 86-87, 91-92, 154, 159-162). Tottie, on the other hand, reports a larger number of adverbials of place than of time in both spoken and written English (Tottie 1984:307). This difference is probably due to the fact that Tottie counted all adverbials, regardless of structure, whereas Jacobson included only adverbs in his basic corpus. Tottie does not, however, discuss adverbial placement. Next, Biber takes up some controversial findings concerning the number of adverbs in speech and writing. He reports a higher mean frequency for time adverbs than place adverbs in each of the 23 text categories which his study is based on. These counts do not include prepositional phrases and clauses functioning as adverbials of time and place, nor is adverbial placement dealt with in the study (see Biber 1988:50, 77, 224, 247ff.).[14]

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[13] One of the reasons for this may be the difficulties connected with the grammatical tagging of various corpora. Adverbials may have many different structures, and some of these may in turn contain adverbials. Semantically, as was pointed out in 2.1. above, the problem lies in the fact that the notions expressed by adverbials may be expressed by other clause constituents as well. Finally, as the present study attempts to show, if text types are not taken into account any quantitative analysis has little informational value. For difficulties in the use of the standard corpora for studies of text and discourse, see Virtanen 1990d; cf. also Chapter 3 below.

[14] Biber's study is based on the LOB and the LLC corpora, supplemented with professional and personal letters (Biber 1988:65-71). Tottie's materials consist of a selection of non-fiction texts from these two corpora (Tottie 1984:302).

Lindquist, who uses the CGEL framework, found a larger number of adverbials of place than of time in his fairly small corpus of prose fiction. In the clause-initial slot, the order was reversed: temporal adverbials appeared in that position slightly more often than locative ones. These two semantic classes of adverbials were the most frequent ones generally and in initial position. The typical position for all the semantic sub-classes of place adverbials was the clause-final one (89% of the instances), the remaining ones mostly being clause-initial adverbials that denote 'position'. Only half of the instances of time adverbials appeared in end position, and one fifth of them occurred initially in their clause. Most of the initial ones denoted 'time relationship' or 'position' in time (Lindquist 1989:64-66).

CGEL points out that adverbials denoting time, and time expressions in general, are the typical semantic category to be associated with initial position (CGEL:491). There is no exact numerical information on this, however. In her study of fronted adverbials in the Gothenburg version of the Brown corpus, Gustafsson discovered that the largest subgroups of fronted adverbials were those of time and place, in that order.[15] She found that as many as 41.3% of the initially placed adjuncts in the genre of fictional prose denoted time, and in journalism the percentage was 38.9. In literary essays, the corresponding figure for both time and place adjuncts was approx. 25%. In scientific writing, place adjuncts covered 26.9% of initially placed adjuncts, while the figure for adjuncts expressing time was 16.1% in that genre. In fiction and journalism, place adjuncts covered approx. 15% and 17% of the cases, respectively (Gustafsson 1983:9, 11).[16]

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[15] The Gothenburg version of the Brown corpus consists of four different types of prose, representing journalism, science, popular fiction, and literary essays (Gustafsson 1983:8-9).

[16] In Lindquist's corpus consisting of prose fiction, 38% of clause-initial adjuncts denoted time, followed by place adverbials that covered 32% of adjuncts in that position (see Lindquist 1989:64). Owing to the differences between GCE and CGEL, the CGEL category of subjuncts is included in that of adjuncts in Gustafsson's study (cf. the discussion in 2.4. below, pp. 20-21). But this probably has little effect on the different percentages in their results. The considerably higher percentage of place adverbials and lower percentage of time adverbials in Lindquist's materials, as compared to the corresponding figures in the category of fictional prose in Gustafsson's study, is probably due to text type: Lindquist examined only the openings of the novels, which may be very different from prose fiction in general. For text types, see Chapter 5.

In sum, then, quantitative data tell us that adverbials of time or place frequently appear clause-initially. Of the other categories which CGEL associates with initial position (cf. CGEL:491), disjuncts and conjuncts - i.e. the peripheral adverbials in Greenbaum's classification considered on p. 16 above - may, for the sake of comparison, be dealt with here. The corpora used in Gustafsson's, Lindquist's, and Tottie's studies contain fewer conjuncts and disjuncts than adjuncts of time and place.[17] Conjuncts, which are more common in non-fictional writing than the speech-favouring disjuncts, seem to be more frequent than adjuncts of place or time in initial position in the genre of science, however, as might be expected (Gustafsson 1983:9, 11; Lindquist 1989:64; Tottie 1984:305, 307-308; cf. also Virtanen 1982:145-146).[18]

Directly or indirectly, what these and other data also show is the fact that language is not a homogeneous phenomenon. Controversial findings might often be reconciled if the types of text that the particular investigations have been based on were clearly indicated. To anticipate, Chapters 5 and 6 will demonstrate that text type cannot be overlooked in a study of adverbial positions.

2.4. In-depth variation in adverbial classification

Adverbials are, as we have seen, a remarkably heterogeneous category. Therefore, attempts to classify them have often come up against the problem of choosing homogeneous criteria. There seem to be no criteria that would fit all adverbials. Most of the existing adverbial classifications are either based on heterogeneous criteria, or else, they only cover part of the group. This is, of course, not exceptional in the categorization of natural language phenomena, in which, by definition, fuzzy boundaries are to be anticipated (for discussion, see e.g. CGEL:90; Labov 1973; Leech 1983:70-73; Quirk 1965; Ross 1972; Soini 1988). Observing borderline cases is only possible if abstract categorization is first carried out. On the other hand, as pointed out in connection with the slot-and-filler model of word order in 2.2. above, if too many categories are distinguished the system may easily become too delicate, and thus fail to show anything significant. In the extreme case, every single element might need a category of its own.

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[17] This is also true of conjuncts as compared to time and place adverbs in Biber's data on the whole (see Biber 1988:247ff.). Gustafsson's study includes fronted adverbials only. Neither Biber nor Tottie is concerned with adverbial placement and thus include adverbs or adverbials appearing in any position. Lindquist investigates adverbial positions on the opening pages of ten novels.

[18] Cf. also the higher mean frequency for conjuncts than for time or place adverbs, irrespective of position, in academic prose and professional letters, as reported in Biber 1988:255, 263.

Adverbials have traditionally been classified on the basis of their form (morphological categories such as adverbs ending in *-ly* and other suffixes, or adverbs with no ending), meaning (time, place, manner, etc.), or function (e.g. word-modifying vs. sentence-modifying adverbials), or some combination of these (see e.g. Curme 1935:71ff.; Kruisinga 1932a:123-124; Poutsma 1926:605ff.; Sweet 1900:118ff.). They have also been classified according to realization forms such as adverbs, prepositional phrases, clauses (cf. e.g. CGEL:489ff.; GCE:420; Jacobson 1964), according to positional criteria (e.g. *preverbs* in Jacobson 1978), semantic-functional criteria (e.g. Huang 1975), logico-semantic criteria (e.g. Bartsch 1976), and further, according to the degree of integration in clause structure (CGEL:479ff., 501ff., where the focus is both on the semantic roles and on the degree of integration of different types of adverbials; GCE:421ff.; Greenbaum 1969), etc. In the present section, adverbials will be discussed mainly from the viewpoint of an in-depth classification, to examine the ease with which different adverbials may occur clause-initially.

Greenbaum, as noted in 2.3. above, p. 16, classified adverbials on the basis of their degree of integration into clause structure (see Greenbaum 1969). This is also the classification used in GCE (GCE:268-269, 421ff.), and in a modified form in CGEL. As we have seen in 2.1., in defining clause elements CGEL outlines a scale of centrality vs. peripherality on which various elements may be placed. Within the category of adverbials, another scale takes shape, i.e. that of integration into the clause vs. peripherality to clause structure, or to put it differently, the relative obligatoriness vs. optionality of the adverbial in the clause. This is connected with the grammatical functions of adverbials, dividing them, roughly, into *adjuncts* and *subjuncts*[19] on the one hand, and on the other, into the peripheral classes of *disjuncts* and *conjuncts* (CGEL:440-441, 501ff.). The category of adjuncts includes adverbials of time and place, which are to varying degrees integrated into clause structure (cf., however, Note 19).

Enkvist points out that the type of bond the adverbial has to the verb of the clause largely determines the ease with which it may move within the clause. Thus, *valency adverbials*, i.e. obligatory adverbials that are very closely tied to their verb, are hardest to move to the beginning of their clause. Their tight valency bonds strive to hold them in a final position, preferably next to their verb and its object. At the other end of the spectrum, *adverbials of setting* are much more mobile and topicalize easily. Hence, the tighter the adverbial is connected to the verb of the clause, the harder it will be to topicalize (Enkvist 1976a:54-57). As adverbials of time and place may function both as valency adverbials and as adverbials of setting, a closer look at these categories will be in order.

Greenbaum (1969) does not discuss valency-bound adverbials, and GCE views adverbials as basically optional elements in their clause (cf. GCE:349). Using data from informal conversational English, Crystal shows that not only valency adverbials but even most other adverbials are in fact crucial in the context in which they appear. He considers less than one third of the adverbials in his material fully optional, i.e. such that "their omission would make no difference to the syntactic or semantic acceptability of the clause sequence in which they occur" (Crystal 1980b:160-166). In line with Crystal's and Enkvist's approaches, CGEL divides adjuncts into three classes according to the relative "centrality" of the item (cf. 2.1.), thus distinguishing, on the one hand, *predication adjuncts*, which may be *obligatory* or *optional* (cf. verb-modifying adverbials), and on the other hand, *sentence adjuncts* (cf. sentence-modifying adverbials). These three groups are viewed from the perspective of the relative grammatical optionality of the item in the sentence, and from that of its ability to appear clause-initially (CGEL:505ff.; cf. also GCE:343-345, 349).

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[19] This term first appears in CGEL, while the other three originate in Greenbaum 1969 and are in use in GCE. The category of *subjuncts* covers, among others, some of the most problematic cases in the classification of adverbials into *adjuncts* and *disjuncts* (e.g. *viewpoint adjuncts* vs. *style disjuncts*, *subject adjuncts* vs. *attitudinal disjuncts*. Hence, *viewpoint adjuncts* of GCE have in CGEL become *viewpoint subjuncts*, *formulaic adjuncts* are called *courtesy subjuncts*, and *subject adjuncts*, *focusing adjuncts* and *intensifiers* as well as a few special types of *time adjuncts* all fit under the label of *subjuncts of narrow orientation*. *Subjuncts* are said to have, "to a greater or lesser degree, a subordinate role --- in comparison with other clause elements" (CGEL:566ff.; GCE:429-459, 465-471, 489-500, 507ff.).

CGEL thus connects the ease with which different types of adverbials may occur in initial position to the scale of centrality vs. peripherality to clause structure. The most peripheral adverbials, such as disjuncts and conjuncts, would have no difficulties in occupying this position. On the other hand, adjuncts of manner, for instance, will be much less likely here than adjuncts expressing time. Adjuncts of degree, finally, may appear in initial position only exceptionally. CGEL uses meaning as the justification for including the most integrated, obligatory adjuncts - Enkvist's *valency adverbials* - in the category of adverbials, rather than in that of complements (CGEL:51-52, 55-56, 440, 491, 505, 510-511, 556, 595-596, 601-602, 627-628, 643).[20] For valency adverbials, consider the following examples:

(3) The restaurant is *in a park*.
(4) They have put an advertisement *in the local paper*.
(5) The meeting lasted *two hours*.

Soini (1987) has devised a variant of the X-bar model, to categorize adverbials from the point of view of the relative ease with which they can move in the sentence.[21] She uses several criteria to distinguish the different classes,[22] and she also reckons with fuzziness in syntactic categorization (Soini 1987:324ff.; cf. also Soini 1988). As suggested by Enkvist, the model forms a profitable syntactic basis for a textual study because it gives an overview of how the depth of an element correlates with the ease with which it can be moved to the beginning of the clause or sentence. In other words, the deeper down in the X-bar tree the adverbial is situated, the stronger must be the textual justifications needed to move it from the syntactically unmarked or canonical position into a more marked one (cf. Enkvist 1976a:56-57; p.c.).[23] Details of this and other X-bar models are beyond the scope of the present study; for a discussion, the reader is referred to Soini 1987.

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[20] A more extreme case still, direct objects indicating location (i.e. *traversal objects*) that are used with motion verbs, such as *the English Channel* in *Frank swam the English Channel*, have been shown by Haig (1981) to be both syntactically and semantically nearer the category of adverbials than that of objects. This type of elements were not found in the materials examined for the present study. Cf. however, *locative subjects* such as *the wall* in *The wall displays several agricultural hand tools*, which have been included in the study under the label *locative NPs* (see 6.2.3.1. below; cf. also examples (1) and (2) in 2.1. above, p. 9; see also the discussion in CGEL:747-749; GCE:353-355).

[21] For the use of *sentence* in the transformational-generative tradition, see Note 7 in 2.2. above, p. 12. In the presentation of the model, the term will be used accordingly.

Adverbials may enter into the model on four different levels.[24] Two of these levels are of interest here, as they may contain adverbials of time and place. The model sketched in Figure 1 below is a simplified version of an X-bar tree, and, for the sake of clarity, the diagram only contains verbal nodes and a TOP-node (for the position of adverbials horizontally,

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[22] As pointed out above, adverbials may be more or less obligatory in their clause or sentence. Secondly, the so-called *unmarked* or *basic* position is far from being identical for all types of adverbials, even if grammars tend to postulate end-position as the canonical placement for most adverbials (cf. e.g. Sweet 1898:19ff.; CGEL:739; for numerical data of adverbial positions in general, see e.g. CGEL:500-501, and as regards individual adverbs and global tendencies in written English, see Jacobson 1964:72ff; 211ff.; for adverbial positions in prose fiction, cf. also Lindquist 1989:61-66). Thirdly, homonymous adverbials ranged on different levels typically differ in meaning (e.g. *honestly* 'in an honest manner' comes under V^2, while *honestly* 'I am speaking honestly' may be put under S-bar-bar, see p. 24 below). On the justification of these and other criteria, see Soini 1987, where criteria used in Buysschaert 1982, Haegeman 1984, Jackendoff 1977, and Platzack 1982 are also dealt with; cf. also the discussion in Soini 1988; 1990.

[23] Seminar on word order 1985, cf. Note 6 in 2.2. above, p. 10.

In a syntactic model, a canonical order of constituents usually implies their typical placement in a context-free declarative clause. As we are here concerned with the textual factors that influence the placement of an adverbial within a clause or sentence, the debate of the existence of a *basic* or *unmarked* or *canonical* order of constituents lies outside the scope of the present study (for a discussion, see Comrie 1981:32, 81ff.; cf. also e.g. Mithun 1987; Siewierska 1988:8-14).

For different uses of the term *markedness*, see Enkvist 1984:52; Enkvist and von Wright 1978:48-50. The term *marked word order* is used above in the sense of a departure from a postulated canonical order of clause constituents, and thus, covers what Enkvist calls *paradigmatic, uncontextualized markedness*.

[24] Jackendoff (1977) and Platzack (1982) use three different levels, while Haegeman (1984) and Soini (1987) distinguish four. As has been pointed out above in connection with problems concerning linguistic categorization, one has to allow for scales of membership within such levels as it is not possible to distinguish as many levels as all the different phenomena would demand.

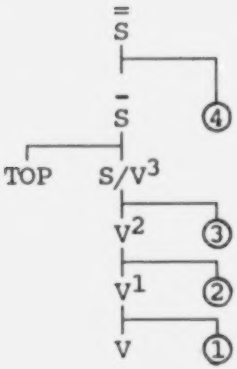

Figure 1. ***A variant of the X-bar model, based on Haegeman 1984, Jackendoff 1977, Platzack 1982, and Soini 1987.*** **Numbers indicate the nodes under which adverbials may be placed in the diagram. *V* refers to 'Verb', i.e. the lexical surface form; *S*, higher up in the tree, refers to 'Sentence'; fronted adverbials from deeper down the tree end up under the TOP-node.**

in relation to verbal and other nodes, see Soini 1987:325). The TOP-node governs fronted adverbials, whichever level below that node (i.e. V^1, V^2, or V^3) they originate from.[25]

Broadly speaking, the unmarked placement of the different types of adverbials tends to gradually shift from the rightmost position (i.e. end-position in the sentence) to the leftmost one (i.e. front-position) as we go upwards from the bottom of the X-bar tree. To start from the top, adverbials categorized under S-bar-bar typically have a rhetorical function, and they are, accordingly, often placed sentence-initially.[26] Adverbials under V^3, such as *probably* in *She probably knows all about it already*, essentially occur in the first part of the sentence, typically between the subject and the verb. This placement often seems fronted enough for textual purposes, but topicalization of these elements is of course possible. As Soini argues, there is a difference between adjuncts of time and place, and sentence adverbials placed under V^3. The former may also be used to modify the whole sentence, but to function as sentence-modifiers they need to be topicalized. Hence, the latter will be included in V^3 adverbials, while non-valency adverbials of time and place come under V^2. Soini motivates this by her hypothesis of the *double scope effect*. In the instance of topicalized time and place adverbials, both the scope of the actual node (i.e. the TOP-node) and the scope of the *trace* (i.e. the trace left at the node the element canonically comes under, e.g. the V^2 node) influence the interpretation of the sentence. Further, V^3 adverbials have difficulties in occupying end-position without a comma, which also justifies their inclusion under a higher node than adverbials indicating time or place (Soini 1987:328; 1990). Several levels could easily be distinguished here and borderline cases between V^2, V^3/S, and S-bar-bar adverbials discussed in more detail (cf. esp. the discussion of the status of adverbial clauses in Haegeman 1984 and in Soini 1987:331-332).

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[25] Hence, adverbials placed under S-bar-bar in the diagram cannot, by definition, be topicalized. In this model, movement is only possible horizontally or upwards. This approach to adverbials under S-bar-bar agrees with other work in generative grammar, cf. the discussion in Gustafsson 1983:10. It is, in fact, inappropriate to speak about *topicalization* in connection with adverbials such as *frankly* in *Frankly, he is a liar*, since they are not part of the syntactic structure of the sentence in which they appear (cf. also the use of commas in writing and a pause in speech).

The interesting levels from our point of view are V^1 and V^2, as this is where adverbials denoting 'time' and 'place' are classified. The difference between these two categories lies in the type of verb present in the sentence. Adverbials under V^2, such as *carefully* in *She turned it carefully*, are not chosen by the verb in the way V^1 adverbials are.[27] Though not structurally, they may, however, be semantically obligatory

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[26] Whether such adverbials should be discussed together with adverbials placed under lower nodes in the model, or whether they differ from the others to an extent where such a treatment becomes meaningless, is a question outside the scope of the present study. For the former alternative, cf. e.g. disjuncts (CGEL:612ff.), which cover both V^3 adverbials and adverbials under S-bar-bar (cf. e.g. the discussion of adverbial clauses functioning as disjuncts in CGEL:629, and by comparison, the treatment of different adverbial clauses in Haegeman 1984 and in Soini 1987:331-332; for problems of classification, see also Tottie 1986). Soini, again, suggests that adverbials placed under S-bar-bar fall beyond the scope of a syntactic study (Soini 1987:333). Also, on the grounds of syntactic and other differences, Gustafsson excludes disjuncts and conjuncts from her analysis of fronted adverbials (Gustafsson 1983:10, 16). Cf. also Note 25 on p. 24 above.

[27] In CGEL, V^2 adverbials fall under the labels of *optional predication adjuncts* and *sentence adjuncts* (CGEL:510-514).

(Crystal 1980b:161ff.). Level 2 is where Soini puts the prototypical adverbials of manner, place, and time (cf. also Platzack 1982:29ff.). The canonical position for V^2 adverbials is postulated to be verb-final, and they frequently appear in the above order, e.g. *She sang* ***joyfully in the park that beautiful summer night***.[28] V^2 adverbials topicalize easily. Within level 2, however, another scale takes shape as the relation of these adverbials to the verb, and to each other, differs. In some approaches adverbials of place, and particularly those of time, are placed under a higher node than adverbials of manner, which are felt to be more closely connected with the verb (cf. e.g. Haegeman 1984:490; cf. also the difference between time and place adverbials that are termed *optional predication adjuncts* and *sentence adjuncts* in CGEL:510-514).

The deepest level in the Soini model comprises V^1 adverbials, i.e. the obligatory constituents typically occurring after the verb to which they are tied by valency.[29] If we leave out the valency adverbial *on the table* from *She put it on the table*, the rest of the sentence becomes unintelligible: **she put it*. There is a scale of "valenciness" here, ranging from verbs that always need an adverbial of a particular type as their complement (such as *put*, which always demands a locative) to verbs that change their meaning if the adverbial is left out (cf. e.g. *she lives in London* vs. *she lives*, or *the meeting lasted two hours* vs. *the meeting lasted).* Though V^1 adverbials have a natural position after the verb, even they may be topicalized to fit the needs of the text and discourse (cf. example (1) on p. 1 above). That a V^1 adverbial may look perfect in a sentence-initial position is due to what Enkvist calls the optimal *textual fit* of that particular sentence in that particular text. We may, therefore, conclude that in such an instance, the requirements of the text and discourse are given a heavier weight than the canonical norms of the sentence. The textual and discoursal forces influencing such an extensive movement must then be considered particularly strong (see e.g. Enkvist 1981; 1985a; 1986).

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[28] Cf. CGEL:500, 510-512, 649-650. Cf. also other ordering principles such as end-weight (see Leech 1983:65) and information structure (see Chapter 7 below), not discussed in connection with these uncontextualized examples. For adverbial ordering in Swedish, see Andersson 1977.

[29] Such adverbials are called *obligatory predication adjuncts* in CGEL (CGEL:505ff.). They do not appear in Greenbaum 1969, and in GCE one of the main characteristics of adverbials is said to be their optionality, while it is briefly mentioned that this is, however, not always the case (GCE:343-345, 349). For the notion of *valency*, see Tesnière 1969. Cf. also the discussion in Allerton 1982:61-64. In terms of the traditional transformational approach, these would be included in the *strict subcategorization* of the verb (Chomsky 1965:95).

In sum, then, what this syntactic model brings to a textual study of adverbial placement is an indication of the relative strength of the different sentential and textual forces that may influence the placement of an adverbial within its clause or sentence. The deeper in the tree an adverbial is situated, the stronger must be the textual and discoursal forces to justify its movement to front position. As pointed out above, the rough categories of this model contain scales of membership. In other words, as sets they are fuzzy. Thus, there is a scale of adverbials that are more or less obligatory in the sentence, more or less closely tied to the verb, and so forth. While adverbials of manner, for instance, come closer to the V^1 end of the V^2 scale, adverbials of time placed under this node, again, approach the boundary between V^2 and V^3.

Enkvist characterizes word order as a result of "conflict and conspiracy" (cf. e.g. Enkvist 1976a; 1985a; 1987a; 1991a). The degree of integration of the adverbial into clause structure, the strength of its valency bonds to the verb of the clause, or the depth of the node under which it is canonically placed in the X-bar tree influence its unmarked position in the uncontextualized sentence grammar. In accordance or in conflict with the forces operating within the sentence, textual and discoursal factors may, as we have seen, facilitate the potentiality of an adverbial to appear in initial position. In the introduction, we saw an example of a valency-bound, V^1 adverbial occurring sentence-initially as a result of strong textual and discoursal forces (cf. (1) in Chapter 1, p. 1). On the other hand, from the textual and discoursal viewpoint, an initially placed V^2 adverbial functioning as a setting for the rest of the clause or sentence is in a natural position as the scene or the background is preferably expressed before the foregrounded part of the clause or sentence, before the phenomenon that appears on the scene or the action that takes place there (cf. e.g. Firbas 1979:55; see Chapter 7 below). In CGEL, this factor is also related to peripherality, which, accordingly, "implies different things for different types of adverbials" (CGEL:650-651).

In this connection, CGEL makes the interesting hypothesis that grammatical peripherality is stronger than semantic or textual peripherality. Therefore, adverbials of the syntactically peripheral type (i.e. disjuncts and conjuncts) tend to yield in a competition of initial placement and leave the ground for less peripheral adverbials which express the setting (CGEL:651).[30] This is, unfortunately, illustrated with examples out of context, and these two types of peripherality are viewed within the limits of single sentences only.

To conclude the present section, clause-initial position is textually interesting. Adverbials that usually occur clause-finally become syntactically marked if they are placed in initial position. The degree of syntactic markedness is connected with the type of verb contained in the clause. The more closely the adverbial is tied to the verb, the harder it is to start the clause with it. Adverbials of time and place may function as valency adverbials and as adverbials of setting, as V^1 or V^2 adverbials, or else, as obligatory or optional predication adjuncts or sentence adjuncts. They are, therefore, particularly interesting in view of the in-depth variation in adverbial classification.

Syntactically marked structures are, however, typically unmarked textually (for different types of markedness, see Enkvist 1984:52). When a valency-bound adverbial is put in a syntactically extreme and deviant initial position, the textual or discoursal motivations behind the placement have to be especially strong. Though syntactically marked, the resulting sentence may have an optimal textual fit, which makes it textually unmarked. Of interest for the present study are the textual and discoursal forces demanding initial placement of adverbials of time and place which are to different degrees tied to the verb.

2.5. Interim summary

The purpose of the present chapter has been to zoom in the topic of the study. The focus will be on adverbials of time and place mainly for three different reasons. First, as the interest primarily lies in initial position -

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[30] This hypothesis seems to be supported by quantitative data. Gustafsson found that more than half of the topicalizations, and nearly three fourths of the fronted adverbials in her data were free adjuncts, while only approx. one fifth of the topicalizations, and somewhat over one fourth of fronted adverbials were conjuncts and disjuncts (Gustafsson 1983:9). For the materials used in the study, see Note 15 on p. 18 above. Cf. also similar results in Lindquist 1989:64.

for reasons given in 2.3. above - it is natural to start from adverbials that frequently occur at the beginning of their clause (for numerical data on adverbials of time and place in initial position in several genres, see 2.3.). Secondly, the same items may act as *adverbials of setting* and *adverbials of valency*, or in terms of the X-bar model introduced in 2.4. above, as *V^2 adverbials* and *V^1 adverbials*. Thus they provide an opportunity to study variation in depth, in other words, the behaviour of adverbials that are to different degrees tied to the verb of the clause. Finally, as the focus of the study is on *text strategy* - the concern of Chapter 4, below - it seems profitable to study the influence of the temporal and the locative text strategy (cf. e.g. Enkvist 1987a) on adverbial placement, and hence, the crucial role of adverbials of these two categories in manifesting such strategies.

As pointed out in 2.3., the placement of interest in this connection is the clause-initial one. Again, several motivations may be given. As we shall see, initial position is important from a textual point of view, since the element placed here may easily assume various functions in relation to the preceding and the following text. Adverbials appearing clause-initially or sentence-initially are liable to function in the service of the text e.g. as markers of a temporal or locative text strategy and of text segmentation. Furthermore, initial position is syntactically marked for most categories of adverbials (cf. 2.4.).

Aspects of several of the models of word order discussed in 2.2. come eclectically into the domain of the present work. First, though the slot-and-filler model is not adopted as such, the study does concentrate on a particular slot. This is so for reasons given above. Secondly, the canonical-and-movement model forms the syntactic basis for the textual study. It provides us with a tool to account for the ease of movement of different adverbials, and hence, the strength of various textual and discoursal factors that demand initial placement of a given adverbial in a given context. Thirdly, the model that views word order from the perspective of information structure will be frequently appealed to in this study. In addition to information structure and information dynamics (to be discussed in Chapter 7), other textual and discoursal factors affecting adverbial placement will also be considered. Therefore, we might simply call the word-order model of the present study a textual or discoursal one.

In the course of the study, it will become evident that *syntactic markedness* does not equal *textual markedness*. Syntactically extreme orderings may be the best alternative in the text in which they appear. In Enkvist's terms, they may have the optimal *textual fit* though they seem weird in decontextualized isolation (cf. e.g. Enkvist 1985a:323). We should indeed keep in mind that while the X-bar model provides an excellent syntactic basis for a textual analysis of adverbial placement, text and discourse are in themselves incremental in character (for the term *incremental*, cf. e.g. Karlsson 1986:163). The canonical-and-movement type of word-order model and the view of text as an incrementally emerging phenomenon are two different perspectives, connected with the notions of language as product or as process, cf. 1.1., pp. 3-4, and 2.2., pp. 13-14, above.

3. METHODS AND MATERIALS

The preceding two chapters have given the reasons why the focus of the present study is on clause-initial placement of time and place adverbials as viewed from a textual and discoursal perspective. The present chapter covers the methods and materials used in the study. I shall pay special attention to problems encountered in the choice of data, as this is a matter of general interest in the study of text and discourse. In the course of this chapter reference will be made to a number of texts analysed for the purposes of the study. A list of these may also be found in the first part of the Bibliography.

It is a well-known fact that textual phenomena are in general too fuzzy to be quantified. A quantification of textual factors may easily give a simplified picture of reality as these factors are hard to define and as they operate on many different levels (for a discussion based on an experimental statistical analysis of textual phenomena, see Varantola 1984:176-220). Also, quantitative results may sometimes be misleading for a student of text and discourse, as will become evident in connection with the discussion of text type in Chapter 5, below. Furthermore, van Peer rightly points out that "in the very act of transforming textual qualities into counts, their essentially process-like character is irretrievably lost" (van Peer 1989:302).

Textual and discoursal phenomena are thus fuzzier than most phonological or even syntactic objects of study. Yet another problem is the greater size of corpus needed for textual studies. In phonology, one's basic unit is the phoneme; in syntax, the phrase, clause and sentence. But in text and discourse studies, the entire text or discourse must be the unit of analysis. Thus to reach the level of statistical reliability that a phonologist may reach with ten thousand phonemes, the student of discoursal macrostructures might need ten thousand discourses!

The present study is a non-quantitative one. Its aims lie outside the domain of the kind of results that quantification might give. Instead, discourse functions of adverbial placement will below be approached from the perspective of the entire text and discourse that the sentence is part of. There are conflicts and conspiracies between the demands of sentence grammar and the text, and the different textual and discoursal forces at work in the text may manifest a complex interplay.

This leads us to the data collected for the present study. As pointed out above, I shall discuss the choice of materials in some detail, as this seems to be of general interest in the study of text and discourse. In addition to introspection, inevitably present to some extent in all linguistic analysis, one may use three different sources of data: (a) grammars, (b) computer-based standard corpora (e.g. Brown, LOB, LLC),[1] and (c) materials of one's own, which may be collections of spoken and/or written texts, or data from elicitation and/or other tests. Existing grammars have been largely limited to clause-level or sentence-level observations, rarely discussing linguistic phenomena in context or giving texts as examples. Even the recent discourse-conscious grammars such as GCE and CGEL understandably focus on the clause and sentence. Second, the standard corpora are of great help, for instance in a pilot study. They also help one to compare the behaviour of an item in one's own data to its occurrences in a large corpus. In general, it may be said that large corpora of representative samples are more objective than introspection. They give an overall picture of the frequencies of occurrences of different linguistic items as well as of their uses in various text categories. Such corpora also allow researchers to compare their results on a much better basis than was possible earlier.

All the same, the use of such computerized multipurpose corpora is not straightforward in studies of text and discourse. Let me briefly note a number of problems linked with the two standard corpora of written language, *The Brown University Corpus of American English* (Brown) and the corresponding *Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English* (LOB), cf. Note 1 (p. 32). One: from the textual point of view, difficulties arise because of the use of text fragments instead of whole texts in the corpora. The sample extracts, even when relatively long, may come from the beginning, the middle, or the end of the actual text, and do not reveal influences arising from the disposition of the text in its entirety. Moreover, some of the 2000-word "texts" consist of an excerpt from one text, while others are combinations of a number of short passages from different texts. Two: there are problems connected with the typological classification of texts in the corpora. Some of these will be touched upon in connection with the discussion of text typologies in Chapter 5. Three: the corpora obviously only contain a small amount of extreme types of texts, or else, these are totally lacking. To find a large body of such texts, one obviously has to go beyond the corpora. Finally, there are practical difficulties connected with the use of the corpora: search problems, for instance, may lead to insufficient *recall* (i.e. less than 100 % of the items desired are actually found), and less importantly, insufficient *precision* (i.e. the retrieved items cover more than what was originally wanted). For these notions, see e.g. Brodda 1991:276-278. In a study of text and discourse, the standard corpora are thus likely to be of help mainly at the pilot stages, since a collection of whole texts will be needed as the study proceeds.[2]

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[1] The following three standard corpora of contemporary English are well-known and commercially available for linguistic research: *The Brown University Corpus of American English* (=Brown), *The Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English* (=LOB), and *The London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English* (=LLC). For a description and a bibliography concerning these three corpora, see e.g. Tottie et al. 1983. An impressive number of other computerized corpora also exist or are currently being prepared, see e.g. Taylor et al. 1991 for a survey. Few standardized multipurpose corpora seem, however, to be planned in view of textual and discoursal studies.

The present study is based on materials collected for its own particular purpose. To find textual factors that influence the position of adverbials in the clause or sentence, samples of some rather extreme types of text were chosen, and the study was soon restricted to a few classes of adverbials. As the study, among other things, focuses on text strategies, it was expedient to analyse texts in their entirety in which the influence of text strategy on adverbial placement was most conspicuous. Hence, written texts which were expected to show clear and homogeneous tendencies of the phenomena under investigation were selected for analysis. Such materials of course tell us little if anything about more complex texts, nor do they lend themselves to statistical treatment. Still, in addition to acting as samples of their text categories, such texts give indications of the kind of factors one should look for in more heterogeneous texts.

Hence, after an extensive reading and a partial analysis of a large number of texts of different types and of different lengths, a selection of a number of representative sample texts was made for a more detailed analysis. The texts selected for partial and/or comprehensive analysis were chosen intuitively as well as with the help of clues from other texts and the standard corpora to show maximal tendencies of the phenomena under attention. The majority of these texts consists of fairy tales and tourist-guide articles, which contain clause-initial adverbials of time and place. None of the data were at any stages of the work selected in view of a quantification. In what follows, the texts examined in detail will be listed.

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[2] For a discussion of problems connected with the use of standardized multipurpose corpora in the study of text and discourse, see also Virtanen 1988a:42-43; 1990d. For a discussion of "language-as-a-whole" as an unfalsifiable fiction, see Enkvist 1991b.

To study clause-initial adverbials of time, detailed analyses were made of a number of fairy tales and stories to be read aloud to children, biographies, entries from a travel diary, and a few other texts:

(A) Fairy tales:

Bird, M. 1960. *Andy Pandy and the Green Puppy*. Leicester: Brockhampton Press.
Boase, W. (reteller) 1983. *Billy Goats Gruff*. London: Walker Books.
Boase, W. (reteller) 1983. *Three Bears*. London: Walker Books.
Carruth, J. (reteller) 1971. *The Giant All-Colour Book of Fairy Tales*. Feltham: Hamlyn:
"The three brothers" (Grimm), pp. 132-133.
"Aladdin and his wonderful lamp" (Arabian Nights), pp. 134-143.
"The ugly duckling" (Andersen), pp. 372-381.
"The little match girl" (Andersen), pp. 382-383.
Ireson, B. 1966. *The Faber Book of Nursery Stories*. London: Faber & Faber:
"The ugly duckling" (adapted from H.C. Andersen), pp. 20-23.
"Granny Blake and her wonderful cake" (by B.O. Carleton), pp. 61-64.
"The three billy-goats Gruff" (retold by B. Ireson), pp. 101-103.
"The cats who stayed for dinner" (by P. Rowand), pp. 152-156.
Jackson, K. 1960. *The Bedtime Book of 365 Stories*. Feltham: Hamlyn:
"The woolly tiger," p. 18.
"The merry tinker," p. 209.

Jones, T. 1983. *Fairy Tales.* Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Puffin Books, Penguin Books (1st publ. 1981 by Pavilion Books):
"The wine of Li-Po," pp. 103-107.

Lines, K. (ed.) 1961. *The Faber Storybook.* London: Faber & Faber:
"The three little pigs," pp. 49-52.
"Scrapefoot," pp. 54-56.
"The three billy-goats Gruff," pp. 60-62.
"The princess on the pea" (H.C. Andersen, transl. by M. Shedlock), pp. 112-113.

Potter, B. *The Tale of Peter Rabbit.* London: Frederick Warne & Co. The edition has no date.

Southgate, V. (reteller) 1965. *The Three Little Pigs.* Loughborough: Ladybird Books.

Southgate, V. (reteller) 1968. *The Three Billy-Goats Gruff.* Loughborough: Ladybird Books.

(B) Biographical entries from encyclopedias:

Myers, B.L. and T. Copplestone (eds.) 1981. *The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Art.* London & Basingstoke: Macmillan, Papermac (1st publ. 1977):
"Fra Angelico," p. 146.
"Leonardo da Vinci," p. 149.
"Michelangelo Buonarroti," pp. 150-151.
"Marc Chagall," p. 276.

A one-and-a-half page long article *(Aalto, Alvar)* was excerpted from *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Macropaedia Vol. I. 1983 (15th ed.).

(C) Other texts:

Three entries were analysed from Scott, P. 1983. *Travel Diaries of a Naturalist* I. London: Collins, pp. 75-77, 125-128.

Book reviews from *The Times Literary Supplement* (in parentheses, the date of the issue, the pages on which the article is to be found, and the section it belongs to):
"Between England and Portugal" (27/7/73:867-868 HISTORY)
"Distant ideal?" (21/9/73:1089 EDUCATION)
"Exotic Egypt" (29/9/72:1156 LITERARY BIOGRAPHY)

Parker, G. (ed.) 1986. *The World: An Illustrated History*. London: Times Books:
"A chronology of world history," pp. 6-17.

Clare Hall Newsletter 1985-86. Clare Hall, Cambridge. Cambridge: University Printing Services:
"Clare Hall talks," pp. 23-24.

Kleinmuntz, B. (ed.) 1968. *Formal Representation of Human Judgment*. New York etc.: John Wiley & Sons:
"Preface," pp. vii-ix.

Tourist-guide texts were selected for analysis because they typically contain clause-initial adverbials of place. A number of other texts manifesting a conspicuous use of such adverbials were also examined in detail.

(A) Articles from tourist guides:

Hamilton, A. 1978. *Essential Edinburgh*. London: André Deutsch:
"The Glasgow route," pp. 154-157.
"The Lanark route," pp. 158-161.

Kent, A. *The Dublin Guide*. Official Irish Tourist Board Guide to Dublin City and County. Bord Fáilte - Irish Tourist Board. Dublin: Richview Browne & Nolan, p. 7. The edition has no date.

Mason, M. 1982. *Blue Guide: Oxford and Cambridge*. London: Ernest Benn (1st publ. 1958):
"Carfax, and South and South-East of Carfax," pp. 50-58.

McGregor Eadie, P. 1981. *Blue Guide: The Channel Islands*. London & Tonbridge: Ernest Benn:
"St Peter Port to l'Erée," pp. 68-73.
"Guernsey Folk Museum," pp. 69-70.

Robertson, I. 1981. *Blue Guide: Cyprus*. London & Tonbridge: Ernest Benn:

"From Nicosia to Limassol viâ Tamassos and Palekhori," pp. 100-105.

Robertson, I. 1984. *Blue Guide: France*. London: Ernest Benn:

"Valence to Chambéry," pp. 711-714.

Spence, K. 1984. *Blue Guide: Cathedrals and Abbeys of England and Wales*. London & Tonbridge: Ernest Benn:

"Newcastle Cathedral," p. 248.

"Oxford Cathedral," pp. 188-189.

"Rochester Cathedral, Kent," pp. 45-47.

"Southwark Cathedral," pp. 66-67.

"St Paul's Cathedral," pp. 60-66.

"Tintern Abbey, Gwent," pp. 310-314.

"York Minster," pp. 264-269.

Underwood, J. and P. Underwood. 1983. *Landscapes of Madeira: A Countryside Guide*. London: Sunflower Books (1st publ. 1980):

"Walk 5. Candelária - Tábua - Corujeira (Levada Nova) - Ribeira Brava," pp. 47-48.

"Walk 7. Babosas - Palheiro Ferreiro - Lombo Grande (Levada dos Tornos) - Gaula," pp. 53-54, 56-57.

"Walk 10. Camacha - João Frino - Santo da Serra (Levada da Serra)," pp. 62-63.

(B) Other texts:

Myers, B.L. and T. Copplestone (eds.) 1981. *The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Art*. London & Basingstoke: Macmillan, Papermac (1st publ. 1977):

"Early buildings," p. 24.

"The Etruscans," p. 50.

The Times Literary Supplement:

"Tundra and under" (20/7/73:837 NATURAL HISTORY)

Atwood, M. 1984. "Autobiography." *Murder in the Dark: Short Fictions and Prose Poems*. London: Jonathan Cape (1st Canadian publication 1983), p. 9.

Bishop, O. 1983. *The VIC 20 Games Book*. London: Granada, pp. 125-126.

In addition to the materials listed above, guidebook texts of various kinds, short book reviews, and a number of other texts were analysed for the purposes of comparison:

(A) Articles from various guidebooks:

Bishop, O. 1983. *The VIC 20 Games Book*. London: Granada:
"Snorkel," pp. 125-130.

Davenport, H. 1980. *A Course in BASIC Programming*. Sinclair ZX80 Operating Manual. Sinclair Research Ltd. (1st U.S. ed.), pp. 9-12.

Greenhowe, J. 1982. *Cuddly Toys and Dolls*. Feltham: Hamlyn:
"Twelve simple toys," pp. 64-66.

Hedgecoe, J. 1976. *The Book of Photography*. London: Ebury Press:
"How to process photographs. Black & white developing," pp. 186-187.

Hittleman, R.L. 1962. *Be Young With Yoga*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall:
"The backward bend," pp. 39-40.
"The preliminary leg pull," pp. 32, 34.

Hutton, H. 1977. *Mosaic Making Techniques*. London: B.T. Batsford (1st publ. 1966):
"A coffee table," pp. 50-53.

Pelham, D. 1981. *Kites to Make and Fly*. London: Pan Books:
"Jetstreamer." The book has no page numbers.

Piper, M.R. (ed.) 1970. *Sunset Oriental Cook Book*. Menlo Park, California: Lane Books:
"Lemon chicken", "Jeweled chicken", "Steamed chicken", and "Pot-roast duck," pp. 50-51.

Wilson, T. 1972. *Great Rice Dishes of the World*. Manchester: World Distributors:
"Choco-rum baked rice", "Apricot rice meringue", "Baked rice pudding", "Avgolemono", "Brazilian rice", and "Cuban picadillo," pp. 46, 98.

(B) Other texts:

Book reviews from *The Times Literary Supplement:*
"Cool counsels" (28/9/73:1097-1099 MEMOIRS)
"Drift catchers" (13/7/73:815 SCIENCE)
"Latest developments" (21/9/73:1073 FICTION)
"Narrative devices" (22/12/72:1560 LITERATURE AND CRITICISM)
"Rita, be mine" (28/9/73:1104 CRIME)
CGEL: "The international character of English," pp. 7-8.
Hogger, C. J. 1984. *Introduction to Logic Programming*. London etc.: Academic Press, p. 1.
Mason, M. 1982. *Blue Guide: Oxford and Cambridge*. London: Ernest Benn (1st publ. 1958):
"University organization," pp. 17-21.
Myers, B.L. and T. Copplestone (eds.) 1981. *The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Art*. London & Basingstoke: Macmillan, Papermac (1st publ. 1977):
"Art nouveau," p. 252.
Waring, P. and P. Waring. 1984. *Teddy Bears*. London: Treasure Press (1st publ. 1980 by Souvenir Press under the title *In Praise of Teddy Bears)*, p. 95.
Wilkinson, J. and A. Mitchell. 1978. *Collins Handguide to the Trees of Britain and Northern Europe*. London: Collins, p. 21.

To repeat, none of these materials were selected in view of a quantification. Instead, four representative samples were chosen from the above body of data for a close study in this work to illustrate the analysis of textual and discoursal functions of initially-positioned adverbials of time and place. These four sample texts represent the two main categories of texts submitted to detailed textual analysis, i.e. fairy tales and tourist guides. The texts are homogeneous and short, and they thus permit a detailed examination of the phenomena under attention.

(A) Fairy tales:

Boase, W. (reteller) 1983. *Three Bears*. London: Walker Books, A Zebra Book. (= BEARS)

Rowand, P. 1966. "The cats who stayed for dinner." B. Ireson (ed.) *The Faber Book of Nursery Stories*. London: Faber & Faber, pp. 152-156. (= CATS)

(B) Tourist-guide articles:

McGregor Eadie, P. 1981. "Guernsey Folk Museum." *Blue Guide: The Channel Islands*. London & Tonbridge: Ernest Benn, pp. 69-70. (= GFM)

Hamilton, A. 1978. "The Lanark route." *Essential Edinburgh*. London: André Deutsch, pp. 158-161. (= EDIN)

The four sample texts are instances of written contemporary British English. In Chapter 5 they will be characterized in terms of text-internally definable text types. And Chapters 6 and 7 contain a detailed investigation of these texts. The texts are given in Appendix 1.

It is thus on the basis of the study of the above selection of representative texts of various kinds that the four illustrative examples have been chosen for detailed analysis in this work. As pointed out above, the present study will only be concerned with homogeneous texts which clearly manifest a temporal or locative text strategy (see e.g. Enkvist 1987a). In Enkvist's terms, we may perhaps call the texts used as materials in this work "heuristically justifiable" (Enkvist, p.c.). Other texts examined for the purpose of the present study are to be seen as the background to the reported analysis. I shall draw examples from them to illustrate the otherwise too theoretical discussion of text types and text-strategic continuities in Chapters 5 and 6.

To sum up: as discourse patterns only emerge through the study of long texts, I have thus chosen to exemplify certain text-strategic phenomena in considerable detail through fairly delicate analysis of complete texts. On the other hand, I have tried to summarize my findings in concise, and perforce more abstract, passages for the benefit of those who do not wish to work through my examples in full detail.

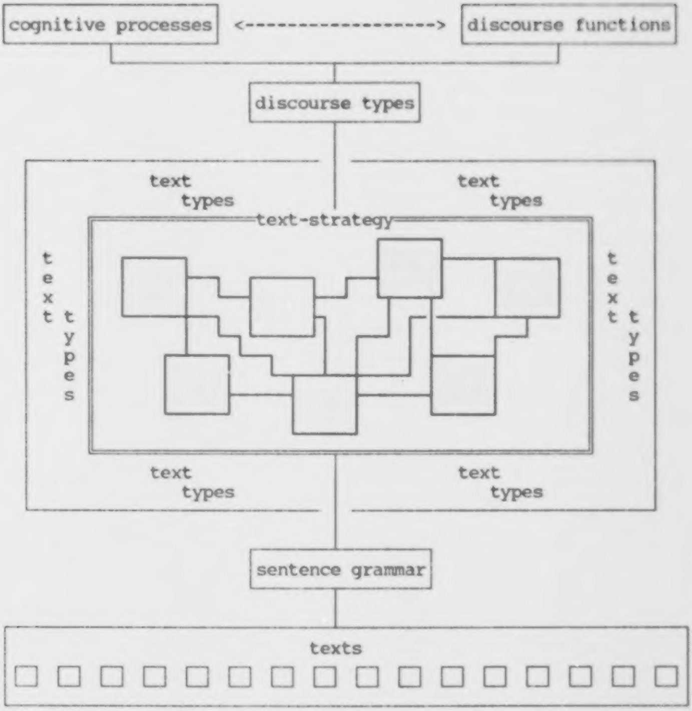
4. TEXT STRATEGY

A crucial notion in text production is *text strategy* (cf. e.g. Enkvist 1987a), the sum total of all the choices the text producer makes to attain a specific communicative goal. The results of these choices are reflected in the text, which is why it is possible to study text strategy, seen here as a recursive process, indirectly by investigating the product and trying to infer what principles motivated the choices made. The term can be used to refer to concepts on various levels of analysis - one within the other - and may, consequently, be defined in several ways, depending on the aim and the framework of the particular study. Some of the definitions will be discussed in 4.2. Let me, however, first attempt an outline of the different levels of text-typological analysis for the purposes of this study, and thus determine the degree of delicacy for the concepts of *text strategy* and *text type*.

4.1. Outline of a text-typological model

The discussion of text strategy may conveniently be started from a rough model of one possible way of viewing notions such as *discourse types* and *text types*, *text strategy*, *textual parameters*, and *sentence grammar* (see Fig. 2 on p. 42). The model must ultimately be related to a situational context, i.e. the communication situation at large and the even wider socio-cultural context relevant in that situation.

To begin from the top, all communication has a purpose. This purpose may vary from self-expression to an attempt to affect the hearer or reader in some specific way, with all the intermingling variations of the potential aims of discourse, not to mention *phatic* communication (for the term *phatic communion*, see Malinowski 1927:315; cf. also Leech 1981:41; 1983:141; Lyons 1977:53). By definition, then, a text strategy has to take into account the purpose of discourse, or *discourse function*. Discourse functions may be defined, for instance, along the lines of Aristotle's rhetoric functions, or Bühler's (1934) and later Jakobson's (1966) functions of language, or Kinneavy's (1980) aims of discourse, or alterna-


cognitive processes
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discourse functions
discourse types
text types
text types
text-strategy
text types
text types
text types
text types
text types
text types
sentence grammar
texts

Figure 2. *The concept of 'text strategy' in a wider context.* Within the box labelled *text strategy* clusters of *textual parameters*, represented by the grey boxes in the diagram, appear in a multidirectional network.

tively, along the lines of speech-act theory, cf. e.g. Austin 1962; Searle 1969; 1975. Let us explore some of these notions in more detail before going on with the different components of Fig. 2 above.

The purpose of discourse may thus be seen in terms of the act of communication, in which the functions of discourse (or the *functions of language*, cf. Bühler 1934; Jakobson 1966; see also Leech 1981:40-42; Lyons 1977:50ff.; or the *aims of discourse*, cf. Kinneavy 1980) are related to the different components of communication: the encoder, the decoder, the language (or code or signal or message), and reality (cf. e.g. Kinneavy 1980:18-19). This goes all the way back to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, in which the functions of persuasion are considered from the perspective of the speaker (*ethos*), the hearer (*pathos*), and the message (*logos*), see e.g. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1:2; cf. also Faigley and Meyer 1983:306-307; Kinneavy 1980:18; Leeman 1982:41.

To the *emotive* (or *expressive*, i.e. related to the encoder), the *conative* (or *instrumental*, or *persuasive*, or *directive*, i.e. related to the decoder), the *referential* (or *informational*, i.e. related to reality), and the *poetic* (or *literary*, or *aesthetic*, i.e. related to the signal or message itself) functions of language Jakobson added two: the *phatic* and the *metalinguistic* functions. The first of these is related to the channel of communication, and the second indicates that something is said about the code or language itself (Jakobson 1966:353ff.). All these could thus be seen as discourse functions, as the different aims of communication.

Next, Halliday's three functions of language - the *ideational*, the *textual*, and the *interpersonal* functions - may be related to the model above as follows (see Halliday 1970:143-144). To start with, the ideational function covers the conveyance of our knowledge and experience of the world. This function may be further split into two sub-components - i.e. the *experiential*, and the *logical* functions - to make a difference between the representation of experience and logical relations (cf. e.g. Halliday 1978:128; 1985:158-159). One way of dealing with the ideational function here would be to schematize it in terms of a parallel semantic model. Obviously, the two parts of this parallel model would overlap to a high degree. Another way would be to recognize that, while Fig. 2 would need to be extensively expanded to include the ideational function of language, there are in it, as such, aspects connected with this function. Thus, the boxes labelled *cognitive processes* and *sentence grammar* also include aspects connected with the ideational function, and the *text-strategy* level certainly covers semantic aspects that could also be contemplated from the ideational perspective.

Secondly, the above model may, roughly speaking, be divided into two so that the area above the text-strategic level would be part of the interpersonal function of language, while the scope of the textual function would be the domain that reaches from text strategy downwards. More precisely, *discourse functions* and *discourse types* would enter into the domain of the interpersonal function, and *text strategy* naturally into that of the textual function.

This is, in fact, in accordance with Leech's view of which functions belong to grammar and which to pragmatics. He suggests that pragmatics is interpersonal and textual, and that it thus covers both the conveyance of the text producer's attitudes and influence, and the text-constructing component of language (cf. also his use of the terms *discourse* and *text* for these components). The ideational function, on the other hand, belongs to grammar, which Leech sees in terms of phonology, syntax, and semantics (Leech 1983:56-59).[1] Leech's interpersonal and textual rhetoric would, then, be represented in Fig. 2, while a parallel semantic model and/or the cognitive processes with the sentence grammar in Fig. 2 might be assigned to the ideational component.[2] For a discussion of text strategies - in different interpretations - from the perspective of the Hallidayan functions of language, see Enkvist 1987c:210-211.

Discourse functions can also be viewed in terms of *speech acts* (cf. Austin 1982; Searle 1969; 1975).[3] Hence, illocutionary acts might be regarded as roughly equal to discourse functions, and locutionary acts would then correspond to the resulting text production (cf., however, the above discussion of the status of semantics in the present model). Perlocutionary acts remain outside the model in Fig. 2.[4]

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[1] See also Leech's criticism of overgrammaticalization in the Hallidayan model (Leech 1983:58, 73ff.). For a discussion of the relation of the textual function to the other two, see Leech 1983:57, 59. The interpersonal function ultimately covers the other two functions (cf. Enkvist 1987c:211; Leech 1983:58-62). As Enkvist (1987c:211) puts it, "here the components do not relate like slices of a pie but rather like Russian dolls or Chinese boxes."

[2] Cf. also Leech's four textual principles, the *processibility principle* (which includes end-weight, etc.), the *clarity principle* (covering for instance the avoidance of ambiguity), the *economy principle* (consisting of the *reduction maxim*, and thus conflicting with the clarity principle), and finally, the *expressivity principle* (containing the notion of *iconicity*), see Leech 1983:64-70. In terms of the present model these would be situated within the text-strategic level.

[3] Cf. also Viehweger's *illocutionary acts*, related to speech acts (Viehweger 1987).

To interpret discourse functions as speech acts would have the advantage of accounting for instances where the form of the product differs from the one that might be expected on the basis of the discourse aim. For example, a story may be - and more often than not is - used for purposes other than, say, entertainment. By telling a story the text producer may for instance aim at changing the behaviour of the text receiver, convincing her/him about something (for the social functions of story-telling, such as the establishment of solidarity between the participants of a conversation, see Gardner 1982; or the achievement of social acknowledgement, see Stempel 1986; see also Labov and Waletzky 1967:13). In such instances, we might interpret the story-telling as a locutionary act, while the aim of influencing the opinions or the behaviour of the text receiver would be describable as the illocutionary force of the story. The discourse function of the actual telling of that story would thus constitute the illocutionary act. Whether the perlocutionary act takes place or not, may not be evaluated in terms of the above model. An alternative way of analysing instances of this kind will be presented shortly.

Depending on the purpose of the analysis, a more or less detailed hierarchy of the aims of discourse may be discerned. The question of the number and sort of functions that discourses may have will be left open in this study, as the framework outlined in Fig. 2 will only be needed to cope with the *discourse strategy* that affects the *text strategy* (cf. 1.1. above, pp. 3-5). Apart from the difference between discourse types and text types, which will be further discussed below in terms of a two-level typology of texts, the area above *text strategy* in Fig. 2 should be regarded as highly schematic.

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[4] Speech-act theory, as will be remembered, makes use of three distinctive acts. The *locutionary act* corresponds to the actual saying, the production of a meaningful utterance. It is the carrier of the referential or cognitive meaning. The *illocutionary act*, the focus of the classic speech-act theory, may be characterized as an answer to the question of the kind of act that is performed when something is said. This is the *illocutionary force* of an utterance. The *perlocutionary act*, finally, is concerned with what is achieved by means of uttering something. It has to do with the fulfilment of the aim of the text producer rather than with the performing of an act itself. Cf. also Austin's *illocutionary uptake*, which changes the perspective from text production to text reception (Austin 1982:94-108, 117-118, et passim; Searle 1969; 1975; cf. also Leech 1981:321; Lyons 1977:730-732).

Indirect illocutions cover instances in which "one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another", e.g. a request is performed through a statement (Searle 1975:60; for discussion, see Leech 1981:334-339; Lyons 1977:784-786).

Whether language users have recourse to the cognitive processes only after the emergence of a need to communicate something, or whether these should be regarded as prior to the discourse functions, is an interesting question, which, however, also lies beyond the scope of this study.[5] Therefore, reflecting their interplay, these concepts appear on the same level in the model. A store of knowledge and experience presumably exists all the time but is activated in communication.

Proceeding downwards to the level of discourse types, my use of the terms *discourse type* and *text type* is indicated here (Virtanen 1987a:52, 63; 1988a:54-57; 1988b:196-197; 1990a; 1992b; Virtanen and Wårvik 1987:106-108). Instead of fusing text types with discourse types, they have been kept apart, to separate two different levels, one preceding text strategy and the other interacting with it on the same level. Such a two-level typology arose from the need, in the study of authentic texts, of similar typological concepts - i.e. parallel sets of identical categories - on two different levels. At this point the concern is the status of text types and discourse types in Fig. 2, in particular their relations to one another and to the other components of the model. The different types will be discussed in Chapter 5, below, but to anticipate, a potential set of categories might, for instance, consist of description, narration, exposition, argumentation, and instruction.

As will be seen in the next chapter, in several existing typologies text or discourse types are abstract, idealized notions. The *discourse types* of Fig. 2 obviously involve a very high level of abstraction. They are closely connected with discourse functions so that if the aim of discourse is, for instance, to persuade, the text producer turns to the argumentative discourse type; or, to take another example, in order to refer to reality (referential function) s/he may use the expository type of discourse. There need not, however, be a one-to-one correlation between discourse functions and discourse types. For instance, the expository type of discourse may correspond to several different discourse functions, alone or in combination. It may be linked to the aims of explaining something to someone, of instructing, of asserting something, and so forth. On the other hand, different types of assertions may also function as the sources of other types of discourse - such as narration, or description - while these may, at the same time, also fulfil other discourse functions. The more abstract discourse functions may thus be suggested to cover a wider field of phenomena than discourse types. The discourse typology, on the other hand, may be thought to have the same range of categories as the text typology. Let us now turn to the difference between these two levels of types.

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[5] This may remind the reader of the discussion of the cognitive aspects of language acquisition, notably of the question of whether language is a prerequisite for thinking, as suggested by Vygotsky and his followers, or whether rather, the development of language is dependent on cognitive development in general, the viewpoint adopted by Piaget and his school (see e.g. Leiwo 1980:38-39, 59-63; cf. also Piaget 1972, and Vygotsky 1962:135-138).

The choice of discourse type is here viewed as a prior and hierarchically superior decision, determined by discourse functions. The purpose-oriented discourse type thus affects the whole strategy of the text. The term *text type*, on the other hand, will be reserved for the same sort of categories but on a level closer to the actual texts. All of these categories must obviously be viewed as prototypical abstractions. Such idealized notions, as pointed out by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981:183), may be used as heuristics in text processing. For the notion of *prototype*, see e.g. Rosch 1978; Rosch and Mervis 1975; Rosch et al. 1976; for discussion of linguistic prototypes, see e.g. Aitchison 1987:51-62; Biber 1989; Geeraerts 1989; Givón 1984:11ff.; Leech 1981:84-85; 1983:70-73; Virtanen 1992b; Wierzbicka 1989; 1990.

The relationship between text type and text strategy is one of structure and process. The selection of text type must be part of the text-strategic process, and so must the choice of the degree of conformity to a prototypical text type. These choices in turn affect the clusters of interacting textual parameters that have to be taken into account during the text-strategic process. In other words, the textual parameters are given a value and a weight in accordance with the chosen degree of adherence to a prototypical type of text. Subjecting the decisions concerning text type to the overall text strategy is a way of bringing intertextuality into text production: choice of one text type means rejecting other text types.[6] Similarly, the sub-parameter of the degree of prototypicality implies the view of the text producer and the text receiver matching the actual product, i.e. the text, against a prototype, used then as heuristics in text processing.

Another way of approaching text types is to characterize them as the aggregate of prototypical surface features. It is in this sense that decisions concerning the clusters of textual parameters that go into planning a text strategy may be said to produce a near-prototype text. Whichever way we choose to approach the relationship between text strategy and text type, the outcome of their interaction, i.e. the text, may be considered an actualized instance of a particular text type. In contrast to the purpose-oriented discourse type, text type is thus a product-oriented term.

This multi-level, hierarchic typological model may thus be used to explain instances in which text types are used more or less freely, alone or in combinations, to serve a specific discourse type, and ultimately a specific discourse function, or communicative goal. In persuasion for instance, the text producer may decide to realize the argumentative discourse type, partly or wholly, in the form of the narrative text type, as is often the case in the actual texts of e.g. fables, or sermons. Thus, the parables of the Bible, for instance, instruct and persuade through narrative: the discourse type is instructive and argumentative, the text type narrative, a story.

The distinction between the two levels of discourse types and text types further suggests that text types can be ranged on a scale according to the ease with which they may serve different types of discourse. Conversely, some discourse types may be more easily than others realized through various text types. For a discussion, see Virtanen 1988a:56-57; 1992b, where the secondary or indirect use of the different text types - resulting in a mismatch between the two levels of types - is also argued to raise the possibility of a "basic" type of text.

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[6] *Intertextuality* is here interpreted in the wide sense of de Beaugrande and Dressler, who regard it as one of the seven standards of textuality, and state that it "concerns the factors which make the utilization of one text dependent upon knowledge of one or more previously encountered texts" (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:10-11). For the notion of *intertextuality*, see also e.g. Kristeva 1969; Lemke 1985.

Returning again to Fig. 2 above, if discourse types were not distinguished from text types, the typology level would have to appear prior to text strategy, as it affects most of the text-strategic choices, a function assigned here to discourse types. The advantage of the two-level model of discourse types and text types becomes evident when matches and mismatches between the two will be discussed from Chapter 5 onwards.

As pointed out on p. 41 above, the schematic model of Fig. 2 must be placed into a situational context. Parameters of the communication situation have been discussed notably by those concerned with the study of language in society, see e.g. Firth 1968:175-179; Halliday 1978:141ff; Halliday and Hasan 1985:5-10, 24ff; Hymes 1972; Malinowski 1927:306ff.; Saville-Troike 1982; cf. also Lyons 1977:574ff. For *situationality* as one of the seven standards of textuality, see de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:9-10, 163ff.. See also e.g. Brown and Yule 1983:35ff.; Enkvist 1982a; fc.; Leech 1983:13-15; Levinson 1983:22-24.

The communication situation might be depicted as an all-embracing frame around the model in Fig. 2.[7] Such a frame might be made of contextual filters, through which the relevant contextual factors would enter the various parts of the model, to influence the text strategy, set up in view of a particular communicative goal, and to further affect sentence grammar. Another solution to the contextualization of the model would be to present the communication situation in terms of a number of concrete parameters and sub-parameters above the level of text strategy (cf. Virtanen and Wårvik 1987:106; Virtanen 1988a:50). But these reflections too must be seen in the light of the purpose of the model, which is to provide a theoretical basis for the present study: we do not know enough of text production to be able to judge for certain the position of these (or other) parameters in the actual psychoneurological process.

Next, the various definitions of the notion of *text strategy* will be discussed in 4.2. below (see Enkvist 1987a). At this point suffice it to say that text strategy is used in the present study in the sense of the text producer's overall plan for the organization of the text, in view of a communicative goal. Text strategy is here viewed in terms of a number of recursive processes, i.e. weightings of *textual parameters*. These processes are reflected on the textual surface in the form of concrete linguistic features. The focus of the present study is on such textual parameters and sub-parameters, taken into account to various degrees during the text-strategic planning. The text-strategy level, with its network of interdependent clusters of parameters, is where we move about in order to try to reconstruct the alternatives that were available to the text producer, and the choices that s/he made before the product, the text itself, emerged. The decisions concerning the selection of text type and the degree of conformity to the prototype were above also included within the text-strategy level. These choices have an influence on the weighting of textual parameters, some of which may be selected and given a particular value by default if the aim is to produce a near-prototype text. Textual factors conflict and conspire within this level. Further, there are conflicts and conspiracies between this level and the level of sentence grammar. In the next chapters, such textual factors will be further defined and discussed from the point of view of adverbial placement, which constitutes a topic frequently treated exclusively within sentence grammar. To anticipate, the main claim of the present study is that adverbial placement is in fact often affected, and even determined, by discoursal and textual factors.

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[7] Cf., however, the discussion of the cognitive processes on p. 46 above.

Sentence grammar, finally, is a term used here in a broad sense to cover syntactic phenomena which have the common feature of functioning within the framework of a single clause or sentence. Sentence grammar thus provides us with a number of possible alternatives to construct the sentence so that it may function optimally in the text. Sentences should be regarded as non-autonomous: their task is to serve the needs of the text. The demands of the sentence and those of the text may converge, but they may also diverge, and their resolution should also enter into any syntactic study.

Positing as many hierarchic levels as in Fig. 2 of course leads to considerable complications in the model. One way of trying to simplify the model's operations and to reduce its complexity is to introduce recursion into the description of the decision processes on the various levels involved. The decision process with its conspiracies and conflicts and weightings of conflicting forces is in principle the same irrespective of whether we move on the level of discourse function, discourse or text type, or text strategy, or their manifestations on the textual surface in terms of sentence, clause and phrase structure. In other words, decision processes work much in the same fashion irrespective of what kinds of parameters are inserted into them and on what levels of text production.

In sum, starting from the product, i.e. the text, we may try to reconstruct the process insofar as the conflicts and conspiracies between the various forces operating within the domain of text and discourse and on the level of sentence grammar are concerned. In the following section, the concept of text strategy will be discussed in more detail than was possible earlier.

4.2. Text strategy

Text strategy (Enkvist 1975:19ff.; 1987a) is a term with various uses. It can denote phenomena on different levels of analysis, also one embedded within another. As indicated in 4.1. above, I shall reserve *text strategy* for the aggregate of all the decisions concerning textualization that the text producer makes in view of a communicative goal. But the term can also be used of individual phenomena which may be assumed to take place later in the process of text production. Their effects may be more readily discerned in the text, for instance, in the form of characteristic structures. Strategic decisions can thus be recursive. Examples of text strategies interpreted in this more restricted and less abstract way are what will here be called *text-strategic continuities.*[8] (Their influence on the placement of certain types of adverbials in the sentence will be discussed in Chapter 6.) Text-strategic continuities (i.e. *text strategies* in the more restricted sense) and their effects on the text are obviously closely connected with the broader interpretation of the overall *text strategy* (in the singular!), or better, they are included in it. The terminological distinction is necessary in the present framework as I wish to avoid the use of the same term for notions on different levels of description, in the analysis of texts.

In some of his writings, Enkvist has defined *text strategy* as a "goal-oriented weighting of decision parameters" (see e.g. Enkvist 1987c:206). His definition is based on decision theory (see e.g. Radner cited in Newell 1968:11). In all aspects of life, and therefore also in text production, we are constantly faced with choices, and making decisions is one of our basic intellectual abilities. Thinking processes need not necessarily be reflective, of course. It may, however, be hypothesized that when choosing a particular alternative, more or less consciously, we have reasons for our decision. In other words, decision-making is based on a more or less conscious but nevertheless rational, goal-oriented weighting of different factors, where we judge which of them - and to what degree and in which form - would best serve our purpose. In text production, then, we may be thought to have one or several, implicit or explicit goals. These goals in turn affect our choices, conscious or not, of the best way of organizing our text, and thus our choice of text strategy (both in the restricted and in the broad sense discussed above).

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[8] These are called *text strategies* e.g. in Enkvist 1987c. The approach is followed in Björklund and Virtanen 1991; Virtanen 1987b; 1990a; 1992c; Virtanen and Wårvik 1987.

Enkvist relates this definition to the predication-based text model - one of the four models discussed e.g. in Enkvist 1981; 1984 (cf. 1.1., p. 4 above). The model might also be called the *base-and-strategy model* to link it to the term *textbase* as used by, for instance, van Dijk and Kintsch (Enkvist, p.c.; cf. also Enkvist 1991a:130; for *textbase*, see van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:11, 342-344).[9] Text strategy thus explains why the textbase was textualized in one specific way. The text producer is assumed to make a number of choices concerning textualization, and this process may be seen in terms of choosing the suitable points on the decision-parametric scales. And suitability is judged by one's goal, or better, in terms of choosing one combination of values rather than another on the parametric scales and one weighting rather than another to decide the relative importance of conflicting decision parameters in a particular situation (see e.g. Enkvist 1985a:333-334; 1987c:204-206; 1991b).

In his article "A note towards the definition of text strategy", Enkvist discusses the definition of this term mainly from three points of view: first, decision theory, already treated above, secondly, interpretability and the theory of possible worlds, and thirdly, intertextuality (Enkvist 1987a). Text and discourse linguistics is connected with the theory of possible worlds through the concepts of *interpretability, text worlds* and *universes of discourse:*

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[9] This model does not comment on the form of the *text atoms*, i.e. the elements of the base. Instead, it concentrates on the processes that take place when ingredients from the base are being combined in various ways through different strategies. For a discussion of *predications* in text, see e.g. Enkvist 1984:46ff, 1985c:22ff. For *propositions*, see e.g. van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:11ff., 37ff., 109ff.

> "Text comprehension and interpretability can thus be seen as a highly complex, incremental process involving the interplay of bottom-up and top-down processing, as well as zig-zagging between the text, the universe of discourse meaning the universe at large within which the text can be placed, and the specific world of the text with its specific, usually highly constrained states of affairs." (Enkvist 1989a:166)

From the perspective of information processing and interpretability, then, the text receiver may be thought to build around the text a text world, connected with a universe of discourse. Text strategy may thus be seen as the way in which the text producer affects the world by giving the receiver information. And giving her/him information amounts to the optimization of the order in which the text producer tries to eliminate the text receiver's uncertainties about a certain universe of discourse. In terms of classic information theory, we should recall, information is definable as an elimination of uncertainties through the exclusion of alternatives (Enkvist 1987a:26; 1987d; 1989a; 1991b).

Thirdly, in view of *intertextuality* (cf. Note 6 in 4.1. above, p. 48), text strategy may be defined as either more or less conforming to, or more or less avoiding, the well-known, already existing ways of global organization of texts. So, a text strategy may be seen as a scale reaching from a complete conformity to a traditional text pattern to an active avoidance of any prototypical text structures (Enkvist 1987a:26).

In this study, the concept of text strategy as a goal-oriented weighting of decision parameters is followed. Nevertheless, it is at the same time possible to see the various text types studied here (see Chapter 5) in terms of intertextuality, and consequently, text strategy as variation within the scale of possibilities of producing, or avoiding all similarity to, a "text-typical" text, one with a prototypical text structure. Thirdly, interpretability also enters into the picture, as the text producer (the writer, in the materials of the present study) may be assumed to use a reader-oriented text strategy to maximize *writer responsibility* (for the latter term, see Hinds 1987).

Thus, the clusters of textual parameters included within the level of text strategy in Fig. 2 above, p. 42, constitute the clusters of decision parameters that the text producer weighs in view of a communicative goal, the discourse function. Above, the decisions concerning the selection of text type and the degree of conformity to the prototype were claimed to take place on this level. These decisions, in turn, affect the weights given to a number of textual parameters in the different clusters: some parameters are given a particular value by default if the aim is to produce a near-prototype text. Further, there must be a complex interplay between the different clusters, so that a particular weighting of a particular parameter in one of them increases the probability of other particular parameters in other clusters getting a given value and weight.

In addition to the decisions concerning text type, clusters of textual parameters to be taken into account to various degrees by the text producer may concern phenomena as different as *text-strategic continuities* (to be discussed in Chapter 6), *styles* (see 5.2.3., pp. 72-73), *information dynamics* (see Chapter 7), *experiential iconicity* (Enkvist 1981; see 5.3.1., p. 76), *point of view* (cf. e.g. Björklund 1990; Ehrlich 1990; Fleischman 1990; Uspensky 1973), *grounding* (cf. e.g. Wårvik 1987; see 8.1.), and presumably many more. We may view them as sets of scalar textual parameters and sub-parameters to which the text producer is hypothesized to give appropriate values and weights. Obviously, a number of parametric scales will be needed in each case to account for decisions concerning the different aspects of these broad notions. Here, as elsewhere, the decision-making process must be assumed to be recursive. The first choice may be between the alternatives of either reckoning or not with a certain principle, e.g. experiential iconicity,[10] or else, between several alternatives, e.g. the choice between the different text-strategic continuities and their combinations. Subsequently, further choices will offer themselves to the text producer. A number of decisions are probably processed in parallel (cf. e.g. Johnson-Laird 1983:452).

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[10] Opting for a specific text strategy is probably to a large extent a subconscious procedure, like other phases of text production. Our use of syntactic patterns for instance is notoriously unreflected: we "know" a language without being able to explain explicitly what its structure is. This helps to explain the inclusion into textual parameters of phenomena such as *experiential iconicity* (Enkvist 1981), which may seem automatic until one actively chooses to go against it. Thus, in the same way as the consequences of other text-strategic choices, the choice to conform or not to experiential iconicity is also visible in the text.

The present study of the textual and discoursal functions or parameters of adverbial placement will thus be closely connected with the notion of text strategy (in the broad sense outlined on p. 51 above). To repeat: this is of special interest because adverbial placement in English is sensitive to discoursal and textual factors, which have, however, been largely neglected in classic, sentence-based studies of English adverbials. The textual and discoursal principles will be discussed in more detail from Chapter 5 onwards. Text types, text-strategic continuities, and information dynamics will be allocated a chapter each.

5. TEXT TYPES

5.1. Text types and discourse types

In 4.1. above it was argued that we need a two-level typology rather than a single level of text types only. The distinction between *text types* and *discourse types* arose from the need to use similar typological concepts - i.e. two parallel sets of similar categories - on two different levels, one preceding the text-strategic choices and the other interacting with them on a bidirectional basis. Discourse types were said to be related to a prior level of *discourse functions* or purposes, while text types are connected with the choices of textualization determined by the *text strategy*. In other words, the choice of discourse type affects the whole strategy of the text. The choice of text type and the degree of prototypicality, on the other hand, must be part of the process of text-strategic planning, and it is in this sense that the product of that process - the text - may be viewed as an actualized instance of a particular text type. Cf. Fig. 3.

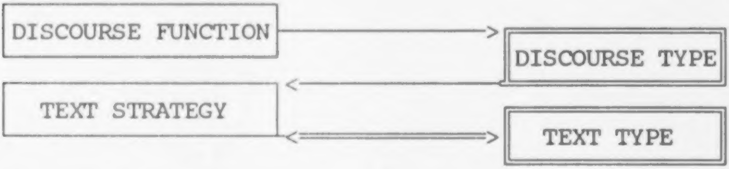

Figure 3. ***The distinction between 'discourse type' and 'text type.'***

Sometimes the discourse type and text type agree: narrative discourse makes use of the narrative text type, and so forth. But there are also frequent instances where a certain text type is used to serve another type of discourse: narratives for example can be used for argumentation, or descriptions for instruction. Such an apparent mismatch of discourse type and text type may be accounted for in terms of the suggested two levels.

Text types - idealized abstractions - were thus above assumed to be closer to the actual texts than discourse types. Further, they were said to interact with various choices of textualization taking place on the level of text-strategic planning. Therefore, they are often definable with the aid of concrete linguistic features on the textual surface. Adverbial placement is one such feature which may profitably be looked into, as certain prototypical types of text may make use of syntactically describable text-strategic chains, some of which are realized through adverbials. Accordingly, text type is one of the factors to be taken into account in a textual study of adverbial placement. Generally speaking, the use of clause-initial adverbials as markers of textual phenomena may often be seen as a text-typological clue for the text receiver. In terms of the present study they signal text type rather than discourse type.

Why, then, should the text receiver be given such clues to the text producer's text strategy? Here it is convenient to adopt a theoretical distinction between receiver-oriented texts, that is, texts produced to minimize the processing load of the receiver, and producer-oriented texts, characterized by a lack of consideration for the receiver. Maximally receiver-oriented texts make use of shared expectations because what the receiver already expects is easier and hence quicker to process. The opposite may, but need not, be true of maximally producer-oriented texts. What is more interesting here is the vast area in between these extremes.

It was assumed above that the range of types could be similar on both levels. In the remainder of 5.1., I shall first consider the difference between text-external and text-internal criteria in text classification, and then go on to discuss a number of established text and discourse typologies. In 5.2. some further aspects of text types, relevant to the present study, will be dealt with. Next, in 5.3., the two types of text chosen for illustration in the present study will be placed within the framework outlined in this chapter and the preceding one (see also Chapter 3, above). Initial placement of adverbials of time and place in more or less prototypical narratives and procedural place descriptions will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6 below. A fairly extensive discussion of text types in the light of existing typologies was felt to be in order in this connection, as text type turned out to have a crucial influence on the positions of adverbials in their clause and sentence.

5.1.1. Text-internal vs. text-external criteria

Texts may be categorized with the help of text-external or text-internal criteria, or a combination of these. To start with, text-external criteria relate to the communication situation in which a group of texts is typically used. Hence, texts used in a particular situation for a particular purpose may be classified using everyday labels such as a *guidebook*, a *nursery rhyme*, a *poem*, or a *business letter* (for a discussion of everyday text classification, see e.g. Dimter 1985). The Brown and the LOB corpora of written English contain a grouping of texts that is based on various text-external criteria, e.g. *press: reportage*, *religion*, *learned and scientific writings*, *mystery and detective fiction*, *humour*, and so forth (for a discussion of the text categories of these computerized standard corpora, see Wikberg, fc.). Such text categories are sometimes referred to as *genres* (cf. e.g. Biber 1988:66ff.; 1989) - which, of course, is a term originating in the study of literature. Furthermore, many studies of LSP (*language for special/specific purposes*, for a discussion of the concept, see e.g. Varantola 1984:6-13) start out from a text-external definition of the text type under attention (cf. e.g. Gläser 1987; Sager et al. 1980; Westman 1974). *Registers* also, to a large extent, conform to criteria related to the communication situation (cf. e.g. Crystal and Davy 1969:61ff.; Halliday 1978:31-33, 35). Another term frequently used instead of register is *genre* (cf. e.g. Hasan 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1985).[1] Within the framework of the ethnography of communication, finally, *genre* is used in the sense of a type of communicative event (see e.g. Hymes 1972; Preston 1986; Saville-Troike 1982:137-140). For a survey of classifications based on situational factors, see Enkvist 1982a.

The typologies to be presented shortly are based on text-internal criteria. Such criteria are connected with the form or content of texts. Several text or discourse typologies contain labels such as the *descriptive*, *narrative*, *argumentative*, *evaluative*, *persuasive*, *expository*, *instructive*, or *procedural* type of text or discourse (see e.g. Longacre 1982; 1983;

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[1] Registers consist of several variables to capture the situational context, cf. e.g. Halliday's *field*, *tenor*, and *mode* (Halliday 1978:33). For some of the linguists working within the systemic-functional framework, genres seem to involve both situational and text-internal criteria. In general, there seems to be variation as to the scope and the level of abstraction assigned to the terms of *register* and *genre* among systemicists (cf. e.g. Hasan 1978; Lemke 1985; Martin 1985; Ventola 1984).

Kinneavy 1980; Kinneavy et al. 1976; Werlich 1976; 1979). Such categories often, though not always, refer to a more abstract level of classification than the text-external labels discussed above, and the typologists working with them usually give examples of actualized types using text-externally definable everyday labels. These typologies thus often involve two different kinds of text categorizations, and the discussion of the abstract text or discourse types may also involve more than one level of analysis. Intratextually characterizable types of text may be found in a number of different extratextually definable text categories, and hence, they may be used to explain similarities and differences between situational text groups. Kinneavy's, Longacre's and Werlich's typologies, which will be further discussed below, apply to both fiction and non-fiction. Similarly, manifestations of different text or discourse types may be found in both spoken and written language, though the relationships between these types need not be straightforward.[2]

Considerations of speech and writing lead us to Biber's text typology. As separate from the text-externally characterizable text groupings, which he calls *genres*, Biber discusses text classifications based on functional and/or linguistic criteria, referred to as *text types*. Biber uses the LOB and the LLC corpora supplemented by a small collection of letters (cf. Note 1 on p. 32, in Chapter 3 above). Starting from linguistic differences, he arrives at eight different types of text, which he then characterizes using functional labels of various kinds, such as *intimate interpersonal interaction*, *learned exposition*, or *imaginative narrative* (Biber 1988:66-70, 170, 206-207 et passim; 1989). Biber's study shows that a number of text-internally definable types of text may be found across different text-externally characterizable genres, and across speech and writing. The text-typical results of the study must obviously be viewed against the background of the kinds of materials included in the standard corpora. Biber is not concerned with textual or discoursal phenomena, such as linearization, cohesion, coherence, or information dynamics.

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[2] *Literary* texts and/or *conversation* are sometimes distinguished as separate types (cf. e.g. Adam 1985; de Beaugrande 1980:198-199; de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:184-186). Since literature and conversation may both represent a number of different text-internally definable types of text, they may rather be described in terms of a number of parameters of the communication situation (see Virtanen and Wårvik 1987; cf. also *registers* and *genres*).

Only text-internally characterizable types will be taken into account in the present study, and the range of types is taken to be similar on the two typological levels, i.e. the levels of *text types* and *discourse types*.[3] As pointed out above, both are abstractions which differ from each other in their relation to text strategy. Let us now turn to some established text or discourse typologies, to examine the different categories included in them.

5.1.2. Some typologies

In this section three different typologies will be considered.[4] One: Werlich's text typology represents the German school of text linguistics, which basically aims at an abstract grammar of text. The typology is essentially based on written language. Two: Longacre's discourse typology, based on studies of texts in several languages, on the contrary, is oriented to both speech and writing. It is designed to cover oral (i.e. unwritten) languages as well, with a universal taxonomy of types as the ultimate aim. The third typology, that of Kinneavy, may be placed within the framework of rhetoric and composition theory, a field that has a great influence on the American educational tradition. The practical purpose of both Longacre's and Kinneavy's typologies thus distinguishes them from that of Werlich, which is more exclusively oriented towards linguistic theory. These three typologies are discussed in more detail in Virtanen 1988a:68-79; Virtanen and Wårvik 1987.

A closer look at text typologies may conveniently start from Werlich's elaborate definitions and classifications (Werlich 1976; 1979). Werlich's typology includes five idealized, abstract *text types*, i.e. *description*, *narration*, *exposition*, *argumentation*, and *instruction*. Text types are related to different cognitive processes, and they are manifested through a number of *text forms* and *text form variants*.[5] Roughly speaking, Werlich's text types might be compared to discourse types in the model in 4.1. above, while text forms would then more or less correspond to text types in that model. Interestingly from the point of view of the present study, Werlich mentions the typical text-structuring devices that may function as markers of different text types. As will be seen in Chapter 6, the text-typical sequences may have a crucial influence on the placement of adverbials in their clause (cf. also 8.3.).[6]

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[3] In Chapter 3 above, pp. 32-33, I mentioned some of the difficulties arising from the use of standard corpora such as the Brown and the LOB corpora in the study of text and discourse (see also Virtanen 1988a:42-43; 1990d). The grouping of the "texts" (i.e. text fragments) in them constitutes one such problem: a text category in these corpora easily contains narratives, descriptions, expositions, argumentation, and instructions, and each such textual "subtype" may contain its own specific textual phenomena.

[4] Here I follow the respective typologists in their use of the terms *text* and *discourse*. For a discussion of definitions of these two terms, see Virtanen 1988a:3-7; 1990b.

Longacre (1982:460-463; 1983:2ff.) outlines a discourse typology using four different criteria, namely [±*contingent temporal succession*], [±*agent orientation*], [±*projection*], and [±*tension*]. The first two parameters give four different discourse types, i.e. *narrative* (positive values on both parameters), *procedural* ([+contingent temporal succession] but [-agent orientation]), *behavioural* ([-contingent temporal succession] but [+agent orientation]),[7] and *expository discourse* (negative values on both parameters). All of these may be further divided according to the parameters of [±projection] and [±tension]. The four *notional* or deep structure types are said to appear in actual texts in the form of a number of surface structure types. In line with the parameters, these contain formal characteristics such as chronological linkage in narrative or procedural discourse (which are characterized as [+contingent temporal succession]), or unity of agent or participant reference in narrative or behavioural discourse (which are characterized as [+agent orientation]). We shall see below that initial placement of different types of adverbials may function as one of the surface structure characteristics in certain types of text.

Both Werlich and Longacre thus posit two different levels of types, one for function and one for form. Yet the set of categories is basically the same on these two levels. Werlich distinguishes five different text types, and uses the same labels to discuss text forms, the more concrete categories in his text grammar. Longacre, again, outlines four notional types of discourse, and uses essentially the same criteria - under somewhat different wordings - to separate surface structure types from one another. Presumably, the motivation for distinguishing similar concepts on two different levels is to a large extent the same as in the model presented as Fig. 2 in 4.1. above, p. 42. As was pointed out in the discussion in that section, discourse types and text types may agree but they may also radically differ from one another. Such a mismatch may then be accounted for with the help of a two-level typology (cf. also p. 56 in 5.1. above). Even the third typology to be presented here, that of Kinneavy's, contains two different levels of types. This time, however, the division is different, and the levels relate to each other more in the way in which the text and/or discourse types of the present model relate to discourse functions (see 4.1. above).

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[5] Cf. the difference between the German notions of *Textsorte* - a text-externally definable notion akin to genre - and *Texttyp*. For Werlich, *Textsorte* is a wide notion, only partly covered by his *text form* (Werlich 1979:44, 116n).

[6] Starting from Werlich's text types and using discourse acts as the basis for a classification of texts, Adam (1985) outlines a typology of eight text types. Connecting text types to discourse acts, or speech acts, brings this typology closer to the model in 4.1. above, in which discourse types - and through them, text types - were related to discourse functions (cf. also the performative verbs used to characterize discourse types in Longacre 1983:12; see also Wikberg 1992:204; fc.). A critical view of Adam's three additional text types may be found in Virtanen and Wårvik 1987:99-101.

[7] *Hortatory discourse* is an earlier term for the behavioural category (Longacre 1976:199ff.; cf. Faigley and Meyer 1983:321; Hinds 1979:136).

Continuing the rhetorical tradition, Kinneavy aims his typology primarily at those involved in rhetoric and composition theory.[8] One can hardly discuss text types without some consideration of the rhetorical tradition, as, in addition to statements about language, rhetoric has always involved discussion of the purpose of language. In 4.1. above, p. 43, reference was made to Aristotle's functions of rhetoric; his *topoi*, on the other hand, may be interpreted as text types, as they indicate what the text is about (see Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 2:23). Later work in rhetoric frequently contains classifications based on the type of text.

Kinneavy makes a sharp distinction between the purpose of discourse and the type of discourse. The first, answering the question of why we write, leads to four different kinds of discourse, depending on the weighting of the different components of the communication triangle, as we saw in 4.1. in connection with the discussion of the functions of language (see pp. 41-43). Kinneavy calls these categories the *aims of discourse*. To repeat: emphasis on the speaker or writer gives *expressive discourse*, while focus on the hearer(s) or reader(s) results in *persuasion*. *Reference discourse* has its main concern in the subject-matter itself, while the text is under attention in *literary discourse* (Kinneavy 1980:19, 37-40, 61; Kinneavy et al. 1976:1).

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[8] In addition to rhetoric and composition theory, as represented by Kinneavy, works produced for the teaching of composition also make use of text classifications, and often include quite a few categories (see e.g. Bander 1971; Brooks and Warren 1972; Pincas et al. 1982).

Kinneavy stresses that the aims of discourse should not be mixed with the types of discourse, which answer the question of what the text is about (Kinneavy 1980:35, 39; Kinneavy et al. 1976:1, 16). These types or *modes of discourse* primarily differ from one another as to how reality is viewed in the text. Texts with a *static* view of reality, namely *description* and *classification*, differ, respectively, in their emphasis on the individual vs. group characteristics of a being or a thing. Texts with the *dynamic* view of reality, again, are concerned with how something changes in time. The product of these choices will represent *narration*, if the arrow on the time axis goes from an earlier point of time to a later one. The opposite direction, i.e. looking back from a point of time to see what the other potential alternatives of the present situation might have been, leads to the fourth mode of discourse, *evaluation* (Kinneavy et al. 1976:11-15).

In sum, we have seen that both Werlich and Longacre assume a more abstract level of classification along with a range of concrete types. Longacre's four notional discourse types compare with Werlich's abstract text types. His surface structure types, again, may be related to Werlich's text forms and text form variants, as well as to the distributional categories Werlich gives for the different text forms. Kinneavy also gives concrete examples of the idealized modes of discourse. The main division in his typology, however, lies in the separation of the aims of discourse from the modes of discourse.

In this light, the model outlined in 4.1. above could be called a *multilevel typology* as it makes a distinction between discourse functions, discourse types, and text types. As the present study will basically be concerned with two of these levels, those of discourse types and text types, the model will be referred to as the *two-level typology*. This distinction, as pointed out above, is justified by its explanatory value in the study of authentic texts.

Each of the three typologies includes narrative as one of the categories. The rest of these sets of categories, however, vary to some extent from one typology to another. Hence, description is contained in expository discourse in Longacre's typology, and these two categories are perhaps the ones that differ most in the three classifications. Longacre's typology consists of very broad categories, and he readily admits the need for an additional narrower classification (Longacre 1982:459). In view of the practical task of an analysis, it seems that a category such as Werlich's description should be included as a separate type instead of including it into the wide class of expository discourse.[9] Further, both Werlich and Longacre separate instructive or procedural discourse from the other types; in Kinneavy's typology, instructive texts would presumably be labelled descriptions. Finally, Werlich's argumentation, or Kinneavy's evaluation, overlap with Longacre's behavioural and expository discourse.[10]

Kinneavy's aims of discourse were in 4.1. above viewed as suitable candidates for the set of discourse functions. For the set of categories needed on the two levels of discourse types and text types, I shall basically rely on Werlich's and Longacre's categories and the criteria they have used to define them. Longacre's notional types are easy to use in a text-typological analysis because of their general character. But narrower distinctions are also needed, as was pointed out above in connection with the discussion of Werlich's description and Longacre's broad category of exposition. Instead of strictly adhering to any one of the established typologies, however, I shall make eclectic use of what in them proves helpful in view of explaining adverbial placement. It follows that the study is open to new types where these seem in order on the basis of the results of the analyses. We should remember that it is possible to make typologies using any criterion or criteria, and that the purpose of a typology becomes the decisive factor determining its meaningfulness, form, detailness, or criteria.

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[9] Longacre (1983:10) is, however, aware of this, as seen in his suggestion that these two types are essentially different. In a prescriptive framework, Brooks and Warren (1972:202ff.) point out the fundamental character of description as a separate type of text even though it often appears embedded in another text type. In their terminology, again, procedural discourse, or instruction, is explanatory, and therefore, part of exposition (Brooks and Warren 1972:44, 48ff.). Exposition may thus be a very broad category, including, in addition to "exposition proper", description (as in Longacre's typology) and instruction (as in the Brooks and Warren classification). Further, the boundary between exposition and argumentation is fuzzy, as are the other borderlines between different types of text. This may again widen the field of exposition, witness Longacre's expository discourse, which also includes [-agent-oriented] argumentation. Cf. also Biber's (1989) wide categories of narrative and expository texts (which, in terms of the present study, would be diversified with the help of the two-level typology).

[10] Kinneavy stresses that argumentation and exposition are two different aims of discourse, rather than discourse types in the sense of what the text is about (Kinneavy 1980:35, 39; Kinneavy et al. 1976:1, 16). Some typologists separate argumentation from persuasion, positing thus yet another category of texts (cf. e.g. Brooks and Warren 1972:118ff.; 176ff.). Other linguists, again, assume that all communication is basically persuasive (in the sense that its purpose is to convince), while argumentation as a text type is justified as it contains specific characteristics that distinguish it from other types (cf. e.g. Connor and Lauer 1986:248-250; Enkvist, p.c.). In 4.1. above, persuasion appears as one of the functions or aims of discourse (cf. also Aristotle's functions of persuasion). For exposition, see also Note 9 above.

Finally, let me conclude the present section on some existing typologies by quoting Longacre: "So determinative of detail is the general design of a discourse type that the linguist who ignores discourse typology can only come to grief" (Longacre 1983:1). It is evident that any study of text should take text type into consideration. And any comparison of texts in different languages, or in spoken and written language, or at different historical stages of a language, runs the risk of taking differences in text type for differences in structure if due attention is not given to the type of text of the samples used for the purpose of comparison.

5.2. Variation within text type

After the presentation of several existing text typologies in 5.1. above, let us now consider some aspects connected with text types which are important from the perspective of the present study.

5.2.1. Dominances

Text or discourse types, or modes of discourse, should be seen as prototypical abstractions. It is presumably possible to find near-prototype texts or text fragments but most texts are mixtures of different types. Such texts may thus fall somewhere between two or more types or consist of distinct sections representing different types. Still, it often seems possible to assign a given text to a particular category according to some overall pattern(s).

In the study of authentic texts, we are thus usually dealing with dominances, showing more or less clearly in the text, rather than with pure types. Several typologists emphasize the importance of dominances in typological studies. Werlich's text types and Longacre's notional types of discourse are idealized categories, broad enough to cover a wide selection of texts. Such abstract types may be more or less clearly manifested in actual texts. Kinneavy also looks for the *dominant* mode, a term he associates with Charles Morris's classical study (Kinneavy 1980:37). Adam, again, refers the reader to Roman Jakobson for the notion of a *dominant* textual zone (Adam 1985:43).

Intuitively, language users know that different types of texts exist. To take an example, a vague awareness of text types may lead us to select a more dynamic novel for reading instead of a more static one, or vice versa. That people actually react to differences in the type of texts was shown in a series of studies undertaken by Faigley and Meyer (1983). They tested readers' classifications of text types using two groups of readers, one without any knowledge of rhetorical theory and the other familiar with such concepts. Readers seemed to use multiple criteria. The main criterion, however, appeared to be time, and a continuum of *non-narrative - process - narrative* texts could be discerned in their classifications (Faigley and Meyer 1983:309, 319-320, 322-324). Further justification may be found in Longacre's work: his typology is based on studies of a number of very different languages, some of which are oral and thus show the fundamental role of the notion text type or discourse type in language.

De Beaugrande and Dressler stress the importance of dealing with actual texts when outlining a text typology. Instead of perfectly distinct types, they likewise state, one can then at most arrive at some dominances, with fuzzy boundaries. They link the established text types of *description*, *narration* and *argumentation* to the psycholinguistic concepts of *frame*, *schema*, and *plan*, respectively.[11] This use of text types is based on intertextuality, the knowledge people have gained from earlier texts (see Note 6 in 4.1. above, p. 48). De Beaugrande and Dressler attribute the significance of establishing text typologies in linguistics to the fact that people use text types as heuristics for text production and reception. De Beaugrande, therefore, warns against applying too strict criteria in defining the borderlines between the different classes (de Beaugrande 1980:195-199; de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:10-11, 35, 182-186).

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[11] *Frames*, *schemata*, and *plans* are global knowledge patterns, i.e. well-integrated stored patterns underlying the use of language which are activated or matched against the actual text. Frames have to do with the knowledge of relationships between different things or concepts, schemata with sequences of events and states, and plans with the way goals are arrived at (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1982:88, 90-91, 184-185). Cf. also e.g. Minsky 1975; Rumelhart 1975; Schank and Abelson 1977.

Since text types are viewed as prototypical abstractions in the present study, texts conforming to various degrees to a specific text type may be accounted for in terms of the abstract core and the periphery of a prototypical category.

5.2.2. Unitype and multitype texts

Texts are more or less heterogeneous in character. At best, they may thus show a dominance of a particular type, so that we may assign the whole text, for instance, to the narrative category instead of the expository one or vice versa (cf. e.g. a historical account of a person's life in an encyclopedia). Another dimension in the discussion of the relative homogeneity or heterogeneity of a text as regards type is that of the existence of more or less distinct *sub-texts* within a text. In this light, texts may consist of only one type, and may, accordingly, be called *unitype texts*. More often, however, texts consist of a combination of several types of text; they are *multitype* in character (cf. Virtanen 1987b:351-352; Virtanen and Wårvik 1987:102-103). In multitype texts, we often find a main - or "frame" - type of text, within the boundaries of which one or more text types are embedded. Multitype texts may be assigned to a specific text type mainly through identification of the frame.[12]

The four sample texts, introduced in Chapter 3 above, p. 40, may, to a large extent, be regarded as unitype texts. Basically, they show a dominance of one particular type of text. Thus, the two fairy tales, which will be considered in 5.3.1. below, are interpreted as narratives, though, obviously, they also contain descriptive passages as well as expository, argumentative, and instructive sentences and clauses. Similarly, the two travel-guide texts, to be discussed in 5.3.2. below, are unitype. They represent a type of text that will here - for reasons which will become obvious below - be referred to as *procedural place description*. Again, such texts may also contain fragments that rather represent, say, the expository or narrative type. They dominantly, however, show characteristics of place descriptions.

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[12] This use of the term *frame* should not be confused with the psycholinguistic notion with the same name, discussed in 5.2.1. above, p. 66 (cf. esp. Note 11 on p. 66). Here, *frame* simply refers to the main type of text in a multitype text, as it, so to speak, seems to frame the inserted or embedded types.

Examples of unitype texts will abound in the following, as the present study concentrates on short unitype texts (for the selection of materials, see Chapter 3 above). Let us, therefore, take an example of a multitype text here. Book reviews, such as (1) below, are mainly expository or argumentative in character. Yet they may well embed a narrative or a description of some sort, for instance in the part giving a summary of the content of the book to be reviewed. Because of the frame we take the text in (1) below to be a book review (or an expository or argumentative text) rather than, for instance, a travel-guide text (or an instructive or descriptive text). It would quantitatively, however, be a good candidate for the category of place description. Mere counts might therefore lead to a misleading typological classification. The second aspect to be noted here is the presence of the embedded descriptive text type in the main body of the text rather than in the conclusion or in both the introduction and the conclusion.[13]

> (1) TUNDRA AND UNDER
> **BRYAN L. SAGE:**
> **Alaska and its wildlife**
> 128pp including unnumbered plates. Hamlyn. £2.50.
>
> After two years' work on the implications of oil development, Bryan Sage returned to Alaska for further ecological study. He has written a lively account of its "wild and magnificent landscape, beautiful wild flowers" and varied wild life, together with personal reminiscences. After a historical outline and general characteristics of the state, with its arctic, sub-arctic and temperate climates, the remainder of the book is devoted to a con-

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[13] In Chapter 3 above, some problems in the use of the standard corpora (Brown and LOB) for studies of text and discourse were considered. One of them is connected with the discussion here: a sample text in these corpora may consist of parts of different text types, cut at any point where the standard number of words is reached. It is then impossible to know whether one has to do with a unitype or a multitype text, and in the latter case, which of the types visible in the sample, if any, is a frame text type. Cf. also Note 3 on p. 60 above.

> sideration of the ecology of the northern territory, the forests of the interior, the southern mountains and the coasts and islands.
>
> In the north, the Arctic slope and Brooks range show the special peculiarities of the Arctic tundra ecosystem with bird and animal migration, spectacular "northern lights" and varied scenery, passing southwards into escarpments of dry tundra and the mondane tundra of the Brooks range plateau, changes which are reflected in the wildlife. Vast expanses of forest occupy the centre of the country, from the northern limit of sparse growth to the true forest with towering hemlocks and cedars in the South East. Further south the Alaska range has four great massifs, Mount McKinley being a national park with a rich fauna and flora. In the Chugach mountains there is some similarity to the wildlife of the more northern territory while the alpine and sub-alpine meadows are superb in the beauty and variety of their plants.
>
> The coasts of the islands and mainland tidal shores are rich with animals, including polar bears, seals and walruses, while the shores of the Gulf of Alaska can rival those of the Bering Sea, as one of the great bird-migration crossroads of the world. Beautifully illustrated with colour plates and black and white photographs, the book makes a strong plea for conservation of this region, urging that despite industrial development it must be preserved as a continuing source of aesthetic and spiritual inspiration. (TLS 20/7/73:837)

In the present study, texts such as (1) above, are classed as multitype on the grounds that the inserted types of text in them differ from the frame to such an extent that they may be interpreted as distinct sub-texts. They thus resemble sub-texts in, for instance, tourist guides, cf. the following expository (2) and narrative (3) sub-texts, in the original printed in small and clearly separated from the procedural place description that forms the frame:

> (2) --- Between Fort Richmond (8 km), a disused fortress on the N. headland, and Fort Saumarez (10 km) on the S. peninsula lies **Perelle Bay** (Perelle is the Celtic word for rock). The bay is protected by an enormous reef, good for shrimping and ormering.
>
> The **ormer** (the English name came from the French 'oreille de mer', sea ear) is a Guernsey delicacy. It is a Mediterranean species of mollusc and the Channel islands are its northernmost limit. It may be taken only on four days of each year---
>
> On the peninsula between the end of Vazon and Perelle Bay stands the second largest of Guernsey's existing menhirs. --- (McGregor Eadie 1981:71)

> (3) --- Opposite on the l. is **Saumarez Park**, formerly the home of Admiral Lord de Saumarez, one of the most famous of the Channel Islanders and a former Vice-Admiral who entered the British Navy at the age of thirteen.
>
> Among his naval successes was a battle in which he outmanoeuvred five enemy frigates attempting to destroy his two ships in 1794. By heading inshore as if to beach his ship he brought the enemy into the range of shore batteries while he slipped away safely through narrow channels. As Nelson's second-in-command he fought in the Battle of the Nile and was the last British Admiral to fly his flag at sea in HMS Victory.
>
> His Georgian Manor is now part of the National Trust of Guernsey and---
>
> On the other side of Cobo Rd stands another famous manor - **La Haye du Puits**. It is said to--- (McGregor Eadie 1981:69-70)

Despite inserted descriptions, the fairy tales referred to in 5.3.1. below have here been interpreted as unitype texts. The descriptions they contain are well integrated into the narrative frame (cf. also 8.3.). Their interpretation as sub-texts along the lines of example (1) above would, however, also be possible, as has been pointed out above. In other words, we may accept as multitype only texts with clear-cut sub-texts, or we may also include texts with more or less distinct parts or fragments that represent another text type. Whichever alternative we choose, we may still end up with groups having fuzzy boundaries. The distinction between a text and a text fragment is not clear-cut. And as pointed out above, the boundaries between the different types of text, such as narratives, descriptions, expositions, instructions, and argumentations, are fuzzy. It is obvious that the question of unitype vs. multitype texts should be seen as one concerning a continuum, rather than one concerning two discrete categories.

Interesting in this light is Smith's (1985) investigation of the relationship between text types and linguistic features in scientific texts. The study is based on Longacre's typology. Smith comes to the conclusion that in different text types, especially in procedural and behavioural discourse, one cannot expect a dominance - at least not a quantitative one - of the text-typical features, though the overall function of the text seems to conform to a given type. This tallies with the observations made above: in multitype texts, it is the frame type, rather than the quantitatively dominant type, that guides the reader to assign the text to a particular type (cf. example (1) above).

Smith introduces the term *discourse framework* to account for "the composite of a writer's attitudes and purpose with respect to his or her topic and audience, as well as the particular situation (linguistic and extralinguistic) in which the text is produced" (Smith 1985:242). It operates on the levels of the text, its immediate linguistic context and the overall linguistic context. Thus, the linguistic features of a text do not necessarily indicate text type. Text type may be signalled by the overall context, the purpose of the text exposed through the highest level of the discourse framework (Smith 1985:240-244). In my interpretation, the two-level typology of text types and discourse types would account for instances where a particular type of text is used to realize a different discourse type, e.g. a narrative used in the service of argumentation. Further, discourse framework would here cover both discourse function, together with the necessary cognitive processes, and discourse type. My use of *text type*, on the other hand, would resemble the term in Smith's terminology. This explains why a multitype text may contain different types of text and yet represent only one type of discourse, or in Smith's words, discourse framework.

5.2.3. *Styles*

How, then, does style relate to text typology? To start from the typologies considered above, the notion is treated in the following way. Werlich chooses to deal with different styles separately, including them into what he calls *varieties*. Variation in language resulting from dialects, idiolects, sociolects, registers, and styles are grouped together with the media of communication (Werlich 1976:251ff.). Longacre, next, does not take style into consideration. Finally, Kinneavy includes style in his typology, treating it as a phenomenon that goes all through the various levels of language that he distinguishes (Kinneavy et al. 1976:passim; cf. esp. Kinneavy 1980:166-168 et passim).

In some of his writing, Enkvist suggests that styles are much the same thing as text strategies when these are interpreted in the narrow sense of individual phenomena discernible in the text such as, in terms of Chapter 6 below, text-strategic continuities (cf. also 4.2. above). What text strategies and styles have in common, then, are the choices made during the textualization process from among a number of alternatives: both contribute to making the product different from other products. For a discussion of the relationship between *text strategy* and *style*, see Enkvist 1985c:24-25; 1987a:24.

Another way of looking at styles, also suggested by Enkvist, is to see them as variation within text type (Enkvist 1987e:33). This is basically the approach of the typologists considered above, as well as the one chosen in the present study.[14] Style as variation within text type contributes to making a text less expected than the prototype. The tourist guides studied for the present purposes show little stylistic variation. The two sample texts seem to follow general guidelines for writing travel-guide articles, and thus to a large extent reflect prototype texts. In fairy tales, in particular the modern ones, stylistic variation is more conspicuous. All in all, however, it seems that this parameter, or better, cluster of parameters, is not as strong as certain other textual factors in determining the placement of adverbials of time and place in these two types of text. Though stylistic variation may be found to a far higher degree in different materials, stylistic parameters must not be here either ignored as a potential textual factor affecting the sentence grammar in a text.

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[14] Cf., however, also the model outlined in Virtanen and Wårvik 1987:106, in which styles are interpreted as decision parameters following the choice of text type and preceding the decisions concerning text strategies (i.e. text strategies in the sense of specific organizational principles in text).

5.3. Text types in the present study

Let us now consider the materials listed in Chapter 3 above, pp. 34-40, in the light of the typologies dealt with in 5.1.2. above. As explained in Chapter 3, an extensive reading of a large number of texts of various types yielded a number of texts that were analysed in detail. To find textual factors that influence the position of adverbials in the clause or sentence, it was expedient to choose samples of such written texts that might be expected to show clear and homogeneous tendencies of the phenomena under investigation. In the terminology of 5.2.2. above, most of these texts are *unitype* but some are *multitype*. Also, they contain ingredients that may be called *narrative*, *descriptive*, *instructive*, *expository*, or *argumentative*, in line with the typologies discussed earlier in this chapter.

To find clause-initial adverbials of time, it was natural to look for texts which would deal with temporally organizable materials. Such texts may be expected to manifest a *temporal text strategy* (Enkvist 1987a). Temporally structured texts may, for instance, be found in chronicles (e.g. in the *World Almanac).* Stories and other narratives were, however, considered more illustrative in this context. The narrative type of text - a distinctive category in all the typologies considered above - is essentially connected with time. Thus, Werlich relates narrative to the cognitive process of perceiving phenomena in time, typically manifested on the textual surface through temporal text structuring, realized by means of temporal sequence forms (Werlich 1976:39, 55ff., 170-172, 185-186). As mentioned above, in Longacre's typology, narratives are characterized by a positive value on the parameter of contingent temporal succession, and they are, accordingly, said to manifest chronological linkage, for instance realized through the tense-aspect system of language (Longacre 1983:3-5, 7-8). And Kinneavy, as will be remembered, associates narrative with a dynamic view of reality, moving from an earlier point of time to a later one (Kinneavy et al. 1976:11-15).

For the purpose of the detailed text analysis, the selected narratives had to be short. Such texts were found among fairy tales and simple stories to be read aloud to children. Further, stories with a minimum of direct speech were chosen, as direct speech *shows* rather than *tells*, hence conforming to principles of its own (for discussion, see e.g. Booth 1961; Genette 1972:184ff.; cf. also Aristotle, *Poetics*, 3). The temporal data also included some biographical articles, entries from a travel diary, and a few other texts (see pp. 34-36 in Chapter 3 above). They contain large portions of narrative but also ingredients from other types of text.

A selection of texts dealing with spatial relations was analysed to find clause-initial adverbials of place. Such texts may be expected to manifest a *locative text strategy* (Enkvist 1987a). In Werlich's terms, perception of phenomena in space is typically coded in the form of descriptions, in which spatial text structuring by means of spatial sequence forms is typically used (Werlich 1976:39, 47ff., 167-170, 185). Kinneavy's descriptive mode of discourse is connected with a static view of reality (Kinneavy et al. 1976:11-15). Longacre's parameters, finally, do not include one connected with space, nor is description distinguished as a separate type in his typology (Longacre 1983:5, 10).

A number of tourist guides were examined to find spatially structured texts. The texts selected from them will be referred to as *place descriptions*, to separate them from other kinds of descriptions. In line with the above typologies, however, travel-guide texts might also be called *instructive* (Werlich 1976:40-41, 121ff.) or *procedural* (Longacre 1983:5), or else, *expository* (Longacre 1983:5), cf. the discussion in 5.3.2. below (p. 79ff.). In addition to the travel-guide texts containing a large number of clause-initial adverbials of place, other texts or text fragments dealing with spatial relations were also examined, see pp. 36-38 in Chapter 3 above. These texts are descriptive or expository.

As explained in Chapter 3, the analysis of the selection of texts of various types will below be condensed in the form of a detailed discussion of four illustrative sample texts. The present study will thus only be concerned with unitype texts which clearly manifest a temporal or a locative text strategy. We shall see in Chapter 6 that clause-initial adverbials of time and place have an important function in the realization of such strategies. Other texts examined for the purpose of the present study form a background to the reported analysis. In what follows, I shall characterize the four sample texts in terms of the type of text they represent, i.e. narrative or procedural place description. These texts may be regarded as near-prototype instances of their category.

5.3.1. Narratives

Two fairy tales, *Three Bears* and "The cats who stayed for dinner" (henceforward BEARS and CATS, respectively), were chosen for the illustration of the analysis of textual and discoursal functions of clause-initial adverbials of time. The texts are given in full in Appendix 1. Both of these sample texts are narrative but they also consist of segments, and of sentences and clauses, that represent other types of text. Description, in particular, is present at several points, as is usually the case in narratives. The frame type, however, is narrative. As indicated in 5.2.2. above (pp. 67-71), the sample texts may be called *unitype*. In this section, the focus will be on narrative, as defined or characterized in various text-typological frameworks. We shall see that the two sample texts, BEARS and CATS, fit in with the very core of the category.

In 5.3. above, pp. 73-74, the connection between time and narrative was already considered in the light of the typologies presented in 5.1.2. Hence, Kinneavy notes that narrative codes a view of reality as moving forward, from an earlier point of time to a later one (Kinneavy et al. 1976:11-15). In Werlich's typology, again, narrative is related to the cognitive process of perceiving phenomena in time. He states that narrative is typically constructed with the help of *simple action-recording sentences* in sequence, such as *the passengers landed in New York in the middle of the night*. The text-type marker of narrative is the use of temporal sequence forms in text structuring. These aspects are conspicuously present in the sample texts. In addition to the typical temporal text structuring, text structuring mechanisms potentially found in narratives include the climactic, cause-to-effect, and/or expressive ones. The last of these, a frequent phenomenon in fiction, refers to deviation from the norm of proceeding from a beginning through a middle to an end (Werlich 1976:39, 55ff., 170-172, 177ff., 255).[15] The sample texts manifest chronological, climactic, and cause-to-effect text structuring and they conform to the norm of beginning-middle-end.

Werlich's sequences of simple action-recording sentences may remind the reader of *narrative clauses* in Labov's and Waletzky's framework of narrative structure: these basic units of narrative are locked in the position in which they appear in the temporally sequential chain of actions and events forming the main thread of the narrative (Labov 1977:361; Labov and Waletzky 1967:22, 27). Labov defines "a *minimal narrative* as a sequence of two clauses which are *temporally ordered:* that is, a change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation" (Labov 1977:360; *sic).*[16] The temporal juncture between such narrative clauses can be made explicit with the help of *then*, denoting 'after that' (Labov and Waletzky 1967:30). The minimal narrative thus conforms to *experiential iconicity*, a concept referring to instances where the linear ordering in the text forms an icon of our experience of the world (Enkvist 1981). The temporal relations of events in story-time and text-time have been widely discussed in narratology (see e.g. Chatman 1983:19ff.; Genette 1972:77-182; Rimmon-Kenan 1983:44ff.).[17]

Hence, the basic characteristic of narrative is the temporal sequentiality of the various actions and events that constitute its main line of development. As we saw in 5.2.1. above (p. 66), de Beaugrande and Dressler relate narrative to *schema*, i.e. the global knowledge pattern of ordered sequence of actions and events (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:90-91, 184; cf. Note 11 on p. 66). Sometimes causality is mentioned as an additional characteristic of narrative, cf. e.g. Werlich's cause-to-effect text structuring referred to above (see also de Beaugrande 1982:408; de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:90; van Dijk 1977:154, 170; cf., however, also the discussion in Enkvist 1981:105-106; Wårvik 1992:19). The main chain of actions and events in a narrative is generally interpreted as the foregrounded part of the text (see e.g. the discussion of events and non-events in Grimes 1975:35ff.; main vs. supportive material in Longacre 1983:14-17; grounding distinctions in e.g. Chvany 1985; 1986; Hopper and Thompson 1980; Fleischman 1990:168ff.; Wårvik 1987; 1990a; 1990b; 1990c; 1992). The temporal-causal sequence of actions and events forming the main thread of a narrative usually leads to an outcome that is different from the situation at the beginning of the text. This applies especially to stories, which are also assumed to have a point, an interest value of some kind (see e.g. de Beaugrande 1982; Labov and Waletzky 1967; Polanyi 1982). In the light of all of the characteristics considered so far, formal or content-related, the sample stories are clearly narratives.

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[15] Cf. Aristotle, who states, in view of the construction of plots for tragedies, that well-constructed plots cannot begin and end at random, as tragedies represent whole and complete actions. A whole is further characterized as having a beginning, a middle, and an end (Aristotle, *Poetics*, 7).

[16] It is in fact possible that very few purely narrative clauses - two clauses in Labov's definition above - are needed even for a longer text to qualify as a narrative. It is a strong type of text (cf. also the discussion in Virtanen 1992b).

[17] It is perhaps worth noting in this connection that all discussion of events presumes an observer, somebody who can experience them as "events" in the first place. For discussion of narrative as a pattern for organizing experience or imagination, see e.g. Fleischman 1990:94ff.; Ong 1982; White 1980.

Positive values on both of the primary parameters in Longacre's typology, i.e. contingent temporal succession and agent orientation, distinguish narrative from the other three categories. Contingent temporal succession is "a framework of temporal succession in which some (often most) of the events or doings are contingent on previous events or doings" (Longacre 1983:3). Thus, temporal sequentiality of any actions and events is not enough; they must be in some sense dependent of each other. Such dependency might, for instance, be created by causality, or it might be understood in a more general sense of coherence. Furthermore, the discourse has to be organized around an agent. The second parameter, [+agent orientation], refers to "orientation towards agents with at least a partial identity of agent reference running through the discourse" (Longacre 1983:3; cf. also de Beaugrande 1982:408-409). In the instance of a group of agents, a partial unity will be enough to form group identity (cf. Grimes 1975:104-105). These characteristics appear on the textual surface in the form of concrete linguistic features, such as the choice of the tense-aspect category, semantic roles, clause type, or the use of pronouns, which show variation from one type of text to another (Longacre 1983:7-10; cf. also Longacre 1976:202-204). The sample stories conform to the two principal criteria in Longacre's typology and they manifest expected surface characteristics of narrative, as will become evident in Chapter 6 below.

Longacre further divides the broad category of narratives according to the parameter [±projection]. Projected narrative concerns actions which have not yet taken place but which are anticipated, as in a prediction. Conversely, narrative discourse is [-projected] when it deals with actions that are interpreted as having already been realized, as in texts dealing with historical events, and usually in stories (Longacre 1983:4-5, 7). For most students of narrative, the prototypical narrative, i.e. story, is primarily concerned with actions and events that have taken or are supposed to have taken place in the past (see e.g. the discussion in Wårvik 1992:19-20; cf. also e.g. Longacre 1976:199-200; Polanyi 1982; Werlich 1976:55, 255). This has to do with the perspective of viewing narrative as a whole, as a completed incident seen from the outside (i.e. from the present moment). Accordingly, the external point of view is the unmarked one in this type of text (Fleischman 1990:62, 216).

Finally, Longacre's fourth parameter, [±tension], divides narratives into climactic and episodic. Climactic texts contain a peak. Although tension is used to subdivide all of the four major types, it is, however, in narratives that the presence of a peak is most conspicuous (Longacre 1983:4-6, 20-41; cf. also Werlich's climactic text structuring pattern referred to above).[18] Expectedly, the two sample fairy tales conform to the criteria of [-projection] and [+tension].

To sum up the discussion so far, let me cite Wårvik's definition of narrative and story, based on a synthesis of the relevant literature and her work on this type of text. Wårvik (1992:19) defines narrative as "a text where a sequence of (at least two) events is depicted in temporally sequential order, conforming to principles of experiential iconicity, and where the same participants (agents) are involved in all (or both) events." To distinguish stories from other narratives, the primary criterion to be added is that of *pastness* (for these and other criteria, see the discussion of narrative as text type in Wårvik 1992:15-22).

Longacre's surface structure narratives include e.g. fairy tales, short stories, novels, as well as first-person accounts, newspaper reporting, and historical accounts (Longacre 1983:9). Similarly, for Kinneavy, narrative is the mode of biographies, news stories, novels, or case histories in psychology and medicine, to name a few (Kinneavy et al. 1976:15). Werlich makes a distinction between *subjective* and *objective* presentation or point of view. Hence, subjective narratives may be found in jokes, anecdotes, and various kinds of stories, as well as in sections of biographies, letters, diaries, and the like. An objective point of view in narration is represented in reports: radio and TV news, news stories, non-fiction books such as history books or encyclopedias, white papers, etc. (Werlich 1976:55, 59, 64, 139-140).[19] For a discussion of different kinds of narratives, see also Fleischman 1990:102ff.; Polanyi 1982.

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[18] Similarly, the distinction between the foreground and the background of a text, mentioned on p. 77 above, has been mostly studied in narrative.

In the light of the above discussion, we may conclude that the text type of the two sample stories is narrative. They may in fact be characterized as near-prototype instances of the category. Further, the discourse type of these fairy tales has been interpreted as narrative as well. The text type and the discourse type thus agree. Finally, the range of discourse functions has been left open in this study. We may, however, hypothesize that narratives fulfil several of the functions distinguished by Kinneavy (i.e. the aims of discourse, cf. 5.1.2. above, pp. 62-63).

5.3.2. Procedural place descriptions

To illustrate the textual and discoursal functions of clause-initial adverbials of place, two travel-guide texts were selected. These are "The Lanark route" and "Guernsey Folk Museum" (henceforth EDIN and GFM, respectively). The former constitutes a chapter in a tourist guide: it is an entire text presenting one of the routes that the reader is recommended to follow during her/his visit to Edinburgh, to see a number of sights in that city. The latter, again, is a sub-text, as the term was used in 5.2.2. above. It is a distinct part of a longer travel-guide article, inserted in the text between the particular stop at this museum and the next stop, in small print and separated from the rest of the text with spaces. These two sample texts are given in full in Appendix 1.

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[19] Though Werlich's groupings essentially consist of idealized categories, it may be of interest to note that, for instance, the alleged "objective" point of view (see Werlich 1976:139-140) in reports is in contradiction with the remarkable number of attitudinal disjuncts found in this genre, as compared to scientific texts or newspaper articles (Virtanen 1982).

All the typologies presented above have a more or less identical category of narratives, into which the two fairy tales discussed in 5.3.1. above may be fitted. As for the two samples of travel-guide texts, the situation is radically different. These texts are unitype to a much greater extent than the two narratives but the text type they represent is open to discussion. In Werlich's typology, they could fit into two different classes. They are basically instructions, having to do with the signalling of what the text receiver should do in a given situation. They do, however, differ from the typical surface manifestation of instructions, i.e. *simple action-demanding sentences* in sequence, e.g. *stop!; you should drive more carefully*. Instead, the two sample texts rather look like descriptions, as the category is defined by Werlich. Description deals with phenomena in space. On a more concrete level, descriptive texts are characterized by what Werlich calls *simple phenomenon-registering sentences* in sequence, e.g. *thousands of glasses are/were on the table; there are/were thousands of glasses on the table; everybody is/was drinking*. The text-type marker of description is spatial text structuring, manifested in the use of spatial sequence forms. The text-type marker of instruction, again, is listing text structuring, realized through enumerative sequence forms. The unitype sample texts essentially conform to the main text structuring mechanism of description. They do not manifest any of the subsidiary text structurings assigned by Werlich to these two types of text (Werlich 1976:39-41, 47, 54, 122, 127-132, 167-170, 176-177, 185, 190-192, 253-255, 265-270).

As regards description and instruction, the sample texts would represent what Werlich refers to as objective presentation or point of view. Objective, or technical description may be found embedded in newspaper articles, scientific papers, non-fiction books, and articles in encyclopedias, while parts of narratives, features, reportages, etc. are said to constitute subjective, or impressionistic description. Similarly, subjective instruction may be found as separate parts in comments, reports, sermons, political speeches, and as whole texts in advertisements, books explaining codes of behaviour, etc. On the other hand, directions, rules, regulations, and statutes constitute Werlich's category of objective instruction. They appear both in the practical domain of recipes, manuals, prescriptions, and so forth, and in statutory instructions such as rules of games, testaments or Acts of Parliament (Werlich 1976:47, 50-51, 54, 121, 126-127, 131-132).

Kinneavy would presumably classify travel-guide texts into the static group of discourse, most probably into the category of descriptive discourse. His examples of texts representing this category include descriptions of image structures in a short story, of phoneme systems of various languages, of geological formations of Grand Canyon, of organization of a book, or of individuals. Kinneavy's typology does not contain a separate category for instructive texts (Kinneavy et al. 1976:11-15).

De Beaugrande and Dressler relate description to the global knowledge pattern of *frame*, containing knowledge of relationships between different things or concepts. Thus, we are assumed to activate our knowledge of relationships between different things and concepts in producing travel-guide texts of the kind under investigation, and to match these texts against such knowledge in the comprehension process (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:88, 90-91, 184; cf. Note 11 on p. 66). *Schema* was above stated to be the notion connected with narratives. As will be seen, such a concept - having to do with knowledge of sequences of events, actions, and states - may also enter into the picture in travel-guide texts as these are procedural in character.

Finally, in Longacre's terms, travel-guide texts are best characterized as procedural discourse, which may surface in the form of food recipes, how-to-do-it books, all kinds of oral and written instructions (Longacre 1983:9-10). The first of the two primary criteria, i.e. contingent temporal succession, is implicitly present in the sample texts. It need not be made explicit as long as the actual order of the planned route is followed in the text, i.e. as long as the text conforms to experiential iconicity (see 5.3.1. above, p. 76; cf. also Chapter 6 below, esp. p. 93 in 6.1.2.1., and 6.1.2.5). It is crucial for a successful instructive or procedural text to follow the appropriate order of the various steps to be taken, or failing to do so, to indicate such order explicitly. Secondly, the two sample texts lack agent orientation, which distinguishes them from narratives. For the specificity of the agent as a criterion for narratives (esp. stories), as compared to the non-specific reference sometimes found in instructions, of which we shall see examples in Chapter 6 below, see de Beaugrande 1982:409; Longacre 1976:203; 1983:8.

Further, the two samples from tourist guides might be characterized as [+projection] and [-tension]. Projected texts give information about how something is to be done (cf. e.g. various guidebooks), while procedural discourse characterized as [-projection] indicates that the procedure is presented in the form of how something was done at some earlier point of time (cf. e.g. descriptions of customs).[20] Projected procedural texts are said to manifest a customary present, future, or imperative in the verbs that occur on the main line of the text. As for the parameter [±tension], Longacre points out that in addition to narrative, it is also possible to find a peak in the other discourse types, e.g. in the form of the goal of a procedure, or the main points in an exposition. Tension thus refers to the presence of a peak, a struggle of some kind, or a polarisation in the text (Longacre 1983:4-7, 38-39; see also Longacre 1976:199ff.; cf. also Werlich's climactic text structuring, touched upon on p. 75 in 5.3.1. above).

Longacre does not, however, seem satisfied with this classification though travel-guide texts of this kind manifest characteristics typical of procedural discourse: more recently, he has labelled such discourse *pseudo-procedural* (see Thompson and Longacre 1985:207). Let us, therefore, briefly consider the alternative categorization provided by his typology. If, in addition to the characteristic of [-agent orientation], the sample texts are also taken to lack contingent temporal succession - temporal sequentiality in them being to a large extent implicit - then they should be classed as expository discourse. They do in fact contain existential and equational clauses, with considerable nominalization, which Longacre regards as surface structure characteristics of expository discourse. Expository discourse, however, is basically [-projected], which is not true of procedural discourse, nor of the sample texts (cf. Longacre 1983:3-5, 7-8; cf., however, also Longacre 1976:200, who states that time is not focal in expository discourse). The sequence of temporally neutral descriptive clauses in the sample texts become [+projected] once the text is taken into use as the instruction it was aimed to be (cf. also the customary present in procedural discourse). As the categories of Longacre's typology are very broad, travel-guide texts seem to fit better into the procedural one than into the expository one. Otherwise, exposition would have to encompass pseudo-procedural texts such as the ones discussed here in addition to the descriptive, expository proper, and some of the argumentative (i.e. non-behavioural) texts of other typologies (cf. Note 9 in 5.1.2. above, p. 64). For a discussion of variation within the category of procedural texts, see Wikberg 1992.

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[20] Cf. Werlich (1976:21, 40-41), who relates the instructive text type to the cognitive process of planning future behaviour.

The variation and hesitation in the typological classification of the travel-guide texts becomes understandable once we see that these texts are examples of diversity in the two-level typology: the procedural or instructive type of discourse is here realized through the descriptive type of text. Such texts will, accordingly, here be referred to as *procedural place descriptions*. On the other hand, again contrary to the situation in the case of the narratives in 5.3.1. above, deciding on the discourse function of these texts seems a much easier task than deciding on their text type or discourse type. They are fundamentally *referential*, to use Kinneavy's term (cf. 5.1.2. above, p. 62). The main purpose of such texts is to explain something connected with reality, to inform us about the sights in a museum, city, and so forth, and at the same time, to inform us about the optimal order of a visit. Consequently, this type of text involves several of the cognitive processes listed by Werlich (Werlich 1976:21-22).

To conclude the present section, we have seen that the four sample texts are unitype in character. They represent two different types of text, i.e. narrative and procedural place description. The two sample narratives manifest a match between the text type and the discourse type. The two procedural place descriptions, again, are instances of a mismatch between these two levels: the procedural or instructive type of discourse is here realized through the descriptive type of text. In the sample narratives the text type thus appears in its primary use, while the descriptive type of text in the travel-guide texts is used secondarily or indirectly, to serve the procedural type of discourse.

6. TEXT-STRATEGIC CONTINUITIES

6.1. Theoretical preliminaries

In the preceding chapter attention was drawn to text types, which play a crucial part in determining text organization. Another kind of text-strategic choice, consisting of a number of sub-parameters, comprises what will here be designated as *text-strategic continuity* (*TSC* or *continuity* for short). In the course of this chapter, different types of TSC will first be viewed from a more general, and, perforce, theoretical perspective (6.1.). Next, the two narratives and the two procedural place descriptions presented in 5.3., above, will be examined in detail, to illustrate the role of time and place adverbials as markers of TSC (6.2.). Finally, aspects of these two types of adverbials will be further considered in 6.3.

The theoretical part of the chapter has to a large extent grown out of the analysis of a number of texts as outlined in Chapter 3 above. Its purpose is to provide the reader with the necessary background for the subsequent analyses of the sample texts. Also, the first part of this chapter will permit a reader who wishes to avoid the detailed analyses of the sample texts to get an idea of TSC. A similar disposition will be followed in Chapter 7, where the same sample texts will be further analysed. Let us now approach the subject of the present chapter starting from the notion of TSC itself.

6.1.1. Towards a definition

Depending on the goal that the text producer has in mind, as well as on her/his weighting of relevant textual parameters, s/he may find it more natural to structure the text in one way rather than in another. If, for instance, the goal is to write a guidebook article about a castle, s/he may choose to structure the text along spatial lines, following an imaginary tour s/he wishes the reader to make to get full benefit of the visit. If, on the other hand, s/he is engaged in describing to her/his friends a castle s/he visited during her/his holidays, the spatial arrangement may still do but it might be even more appropriate to use, say, a temporal, or a taxonomic text organization of some other kind. Such an organization might be centred e.g. around her/his impressions and enthusiasms of the various aspects of the castle, or the items displayed in its different parts and rooms. Finally, an account of the history of the same castle would typically be arranged temporally.

Text-strategic continuity (TSC) may thus be defined as a thematic or topical uniform text-structuring orientation chosen to attain, in view of the communicative goal, a maximally profitable text organization, for the benefit of the text receiver. The degree of receiver orientation desired or needed in a communication situation is of course judged by the text producer. The TSC is exposed through concrete linguistic features on the textual surface.

Text-strategic continuities are thematic or topical in the sense of Givón's *topic continuity* (see Givón 1983a): the chosen continuity is used vertically as a thematic text-uniting line running right through a text or part of a text. Dominant continuity is typically built around a notion that forms a crucial part of the discourse topic (for the term *discourse topic*, see Brown and Yule 1983:71ff.).[1] As a consequence, the elements belonging to the line of the TSC often occur towards the beginning of their clause. They realize *clausal* or *sentential topics*. This means that the unmarked principle of *old-information-first* usually holds within clauses and sentences strung together by a TSC (for further discussion, see Chapter 7).

Consider the following examples. In (1), the main idea is 'Mr. Happy', the biggest Teddy Bear in the world. Following Brown and Yule, this might be called the writer's *topic entity* (Brown and Yule 1983:137). References to 'Mr. Happy' form a TSC in the text, and they typically appear at the beginning of their clause or sentence. Example (2) also displays a TSC of participants, this time a group of characters called the *three billy-goats Gruff*. More interestingly from the viewpoint of the present study, however, the text also manifests a temporal TSC. The text is structured with the help of a chain of references to a temporal frame.[2] Such references are typically realized through adverbials of time placed initially in their clause or sentence. In this example spatiality also implies temporality: *on the way up the hillside* belongs to the same chain of temporal markers as *one fine day* or other initially-placed adverbials of time later in the same text, e.g. *after a while* or *then*. Example (3), finally, illustrates a locative TSC. In other words, a chain of initially-placed adverbials of place is here used to steer the text along spatial lines. Consequently, these adverbials appear initially in the clause or sentence. The spatial TSC is thus formed through a series of references to a common locative frame.

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[1] Givón's *thematic continuity* seems to refer, roughly, to the same phenomenon as continuity of the *discourse topic* (for *discourse topic*, see Brown and Yule 1983:71ff.). Givón's *topic*, on the other hand, as used in connection with *topics/participants continuity* in Givón 1983a, might be interpreted as a *sentential* or *clausal* notion. Basically, it refers to a clause constituent (cf. Givón 1983a:8-9; 1984:137-138). Cf. also Chafe 1976:50-51.

Another way of defining *topic* in this connection would be to adopt a view according to which it would refer to a non-human or inanimate *participant*. This is done in 6.1.2.4. below. Cf. also Grimes's use of the unity of *theme* and the unity of *participant(s)*. For Grimes, the unity of theme - a global or a local one - prevails "as long as the speaker continues talking about the same thing." Hence, it may also cover the unity of participant(s), essentially interpreted, however, as animate objects involved in actions (Grimes 1975:43ff., 103-106; cf. also Longacre 1979:118; 1983:7).

(1) The biggest Teddy Bear in the world is 'Mr. Happy' who is almost twice the height of a tall man and as wide across the middle as three average men! *He* is actually too bulky to stand upright, but measures over twelve feet from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet. *He* was on display at the time of the 1975 Summer Fair in Edinburgh and was rather unkindly nick-named 'Ugly Bear' by some visitors! *He* has been rather shy about appearing in public ever since. (Waring and Waring 1984:95)

(2) *Once upon a time* there were three billy-goats called Gruff.

One fine day, the three billy-goats Gruff set off up the hillside. They were going to look for some sweet grass to eat so that they could grow fat.

On the way up the hillside, the three billy-goats Gruff came to a river. --- (Southgate 1968:4,6,8)

(3) *From the west end of Princes Street*, Shandwick Place leads westwards to Haymarket, Murrayfield, Corstorphine and the main exit to Glasgow. *On the north side* is St George's West Church (David Bryce, 1869) in Renaissance style with giant Corinthian columns

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[2] ***Frame*** is here used as a pretheoretical notion and must not be confused with the identical term referred to in 5.2.1. above (p. 66), or with the notion of a main or *frame type of text* in multitype texts, discussed in 5.2.2., p. 67.

> and a tall Venetian campanile with green copper spire added by Rowand Anderson, 1881. *In the garden of Coates Crescent to the west* is the city's memorial to W.E. Gladstone (Pittendrigh McGillivray, 1917), removed here from St Andrew Square in 1955. --- (Hamilton 1978:154)

In 6.1.2., below, different types of TSC will be considered. As the above examples show, different continuities are realized through different linguistic devices (cf. also Enkvist 1985a; 1987a:20ff.; 1987c:206ff.; 1987d). Also, in view of the discussion of text types in the preceding chapter, it is of interest to observe that example (1) is a descriptive or expository text, (2) part of a narrative, and (3) a description with an instructive purpose. The relationships between the different TSCs and text types will be further explored in 6.1.3., below.

Text-strategic continuities appear in the literature e.g. as *text strategies* (Enkvist 1985a; 1987a; 1987c; 1987d), *framing strategies* (Witte and Cherry 1986:130ff.), principles of *unities*, *uniformities*, *orientations*, or *uniform orientations* of various sorts (Givón 1984:245; Grimes 1975:102ff; Hinds 1979:136; Longacre 1983:7-8), or as *aspects of discourse continuity* (Givón 1983a:7; cf. also Givón 1990:896-897). Cf. also the discussion of sequence forms and text structuring in Werlich 1976:157ff., and the notion of *method of development* in Fries 1983. Givón traces such unities or continuities back to the Classical Greek playwrights. They are called *text-strategic continuities* in this study to stress their function as an aspect of the overall text strategy (cf. Fig. 2 in 4.1. above, p. 42), and secondly, to avoid the use of the term *unity*, which may lead thoughts to Aristotle, whose alleged unities of course differ from the continuities discussed here.[3] The two terms *unity* and *continuity* will be further elaborated on in 6.1.1.1., below.

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[3] Aristotle's *Poetics* is generally taken to forward the idea of the unities of action, time, and place as the basic unities of a play (see Aristotle, *Poetics*, 5-8; cf. also Voilquin's and Capelle's introduction to *Poetics* 1944:416-417). Nevertheless, these differ enough from the text-strategic continuities discussed in this study to justify an avoidance of the term *unity* in this connection. The *unity of action*, roughly, defines drama as an imitation of an important and complete action which must have a beginning, a middle, and an end, and which takes place within one performance. In other words, drama has to run in natural time, which is what is understood by the *unity of time*. Thirdly, drama must occur in one place, and thus have the *unity of place*. The *unity of agent(s)* is subordinated to the unity of action, which is the most essential unity of drama.

The text producer's use of one type of TSC rather than of another, of course, basically amounts to the same thing as her/his choice of text strategy. As, however, the term *text strategy* is in the present study reserved to a similar but essentially much wider concept (cf. Chapter 4 above), the Enkvistian approach of labelling the different TSCs *text strategies* has not been followed here. Though his term is in fact better as we are here dealing with strategies, the use of the same term for two different notions might lead to an unfortunate confusion as concerns the levels of description in the hierarchic model of 4.1.

6.1.1.1. Unities and continuities, shifts and breaks

This section is devoted to the notions of *unity* and *continuity*, and to another pair of terms to be introduced at this point, i.e. *breaks* and *shifts* in continuities. The three examples of TSC presented in 6.1.1. above, p. 86, offer a convenient point of departure. While it is easy to see that continuous reference to a single character forms unity or continuity in Text (1), the situation in (2) and (3) may seem slightly different. In these examples a chain of temporal or locative expressions was said to form continuity in the text.

To start with, *continuity* may thus seem a paradoxical notion as individual items in a *continuity chain* (such as the initially placed temporal or locative expressions in (2) or (3), above) in fact shift the text from one reference point to another. However, when a shift takes place within the continuous notion - for instance, when we move to a new place in a spatially organized text or to a new point of time in a temporally organized text - the continuity of the referential dimension itself remains unbroken: there is a common temporal or spatial frame to which these items refer. Similarly, further on in the text from which (2) is an excerpt reference is made to the individual billy-goats separately (e.g. *the youngest billy-goat Gruff*). Still, the group identity is preserved, and references to both the individual goats and to the trio of goats together form participant continuity in the text (cf. Grimes 1975:104-105). Hence, it is the text that is continuous, not necessarily the referential frame. Time, place, or a member of a group of participants may change but the chain of references to a common temporal, spatial or participant-oriented frame still has the effect of forming continuity in the text and discourse.

Secondly, I shall use the term *unity* in the sense of a static spatio-temporal setting in which a text may be placed. Consider, for instance, a setting at the beginning of a news story (such as *London, Thursday)* or a tale (e.g. *once upon a time, on an uninhabited island).* The spatio-temporal setting may remain the same throughout a text, which may be organized with the help of other continuities. In the analysis of texts it is useful to make a distinction between texts that are structured with the help of a temporal or spatial TSC and texts that contain a unity of time or place.[4] In participant reference, again, the two notions of unity and continuity usually overlap.

Further, intra-continuity steps in the sense of new stages in the TSC will be called *shifts.* They mark boundaries between different textual units, and thus segment the text into smaller parts within the continuous notion. Shifts in the TSC may be signalled, for instance, through a clause-initial or sentence-initial adverbial of time or place referring to the next point on a temporal or spatial line, or a full NP reference, instead of e.g. a pronominal one, referring to a continuous participant. A chain of signals of a TSC binds the text together and thus creates cohesion and co-

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[4] An alternative interpretation of the two terms *unity* and *continuity* might be to regard the most general level of the TSC as a "macro-notion". If all the elements in a text-strategic chain are seen as part of a global macro-notion, the text may be said to display a "unity" on the global level. Such a global-level unity would apply to participants or topics and time or place, all alike. Further, continuity might then be understood in the sense of a chain of references to a number of sub-notions, all part of the global unity of the macro-notion (such as the "macro-time", "macro-place" or "macro-topic"). Finally, on the local level of a sub-notion, a unity may again prevail, or else, this notion may be further segmented according to a series of sub-sub-notions, manifested through another continuity chain.

As the term *macro* easily leads the thoughts to van Dijk's macroconcepts (see e.g. van Dijk 1980; van Dijk and Kintsch 1983), it must be pointed out that, despite the obvious source of inspiration, such terms are, in the present study, used in the transparent, pretheoretical sense of a global notion consisting of a hierarchy of sub-notions, or micro-notions.

herence.[5] At the same time, markers of a TSC may also indicate boundaries between textual units, thus acting as a clue to text segmentation - an issue to be dealt with in 6.2., below.

Next, a *break* refers to discontinuity, i.e. a change in the type of TSC, e.g. from a temporal text strategy to, say, a locative one. A break in one TSC is often accompanied by breaks in the other cooccurring continuities. Breaks in the TSCs may also signal boundaries between textual units, for instance, in the sense of introducing a new text type in multitype texts (see 5.2.2., above; cf. also 6.1.5.2., below). It is again worth emphasizing that breaks and shifts in TSC are textual phenomena.

Some of the linguistic signals of breaks and/or shifts in TSCs are considered e.g. in connection with discussions of *episode boundary markers* (van Dijk 1982; cf. also Longacre 1979), *topic boundary markers* (Brown and Yule 1983:94-100), *topic change markers* (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:204), *frame shifters* (Polanyi and Scha 1983:266), and *pointers* (Evensen 1985:50ff). Cf. also 6.1.1. above, p. 87. Signals of TSC will be further dealt with in 6.1.2., below.

Givón suggests that the number of shifts or breaks at the same point may be used as an indicator of the position in the overall hierarchic text structure of the parts of the text thus separated. In other words, the number of shifts and/or breaks in text-strategic continuities is greater at the boundaries of higher, or major textual units than between minor units of the text (Givón 1984:245-246). Moreover, since breaks may signal changes in text type, a cluster of them should in a multitype text appear at a textual boundary which is hierarchically higher than the boundaries marked with a cluster of shifts.

To sum up, the terms *unity* and *continuity* will be used in two different senses in the present study. *Unity* refers more to the Aristotelian con-

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[5] The difference between *cohesion* and *coherence*, as the terms are used in the present study, is one of overtness vs. covertness: cohesion appears on the textual surface in the form of distinct linguistic elements. Coherence, again, is not an inherent quality of a text but rather a matter of text interpretation, of the text receiver's ability to build a text world and a universe of discourse around the text. Hence, the semantic relations creating coherence for one text receiver and the inferences that s/he can make from a given text in a given situation need not be identical for another receiver. The boundary between cohesion and coherence is not clear-cut (Enkvist 1978a; 1985b; 1989b). Cf. also de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:3-11, who postulate seven standards of textuality, the first two of which are cohesion and coherence. For discussion of cohesion and/or coherence, see also e.g. Conte et al. 1989; Halliday and Hasan 1976; Heydrich et al. 1989; Hoey 1991; Källgren 1979.

cept (cf. example (11) in 6.1.2.2. below, p. 100), *continuity*, again, to the effect on the text, of a continuous chain of markers belonging to the same line or notion of orientation. These may or may not refer to the same point on that line or to the same aspect of that notion. Intra-continuity steps will be called *shifts*, discontinuities in the sense of changes in the type of TSC, again, *breaks*. Both are textual phenomena. Finally, the two functions of a TSC - creating cohesion and coherence in a text and segmenting the text into smaller parts - may be viewed as two sides of the same coin: both have the discourse-pragmatic effect of facilitating text processing.

6.1.2. Survey of text-strategic continuities

A text usually consists of more than one type of TSC, though one of them may often be called dominant. One type of continuity may thus appear as dominant in one text and as subordinate in another. The cooccurrences and combinations of text-strategic continuities will be further discussed in 6.1.4. and 6.1.5., below. In this section, I shall single out the different continuities, to examine them one after the other in order to illustrate their use in text. The TSCs of time and of place are of course of crucial importance for the present study.

6.1.2.1. Continuity of time

As we saw in the short extract from a children's story in 6.1.1. above (p. 86), the temporal TSC may be manifested on the textual surface through a chain of clause-initial or sentence-initial adverbials of time (see Enkvist 1987a:21-22; 1987d). These appear at the outset of the textual unit they introduce. Such text-strategically important adverbials may alternate with other, non-adverbial time expressions in the same continuity chain. They often denote 'point-of-time' but as we shall see, they may even convey other temporal meanings.

Consider the following abridged entry from a travel diary, in which paragraph-initial temporal expressions form a chain that creates cohesion and coherence in the text. At the same time, these expressions also segment the text into blocks of various sizes. (For the boldface passages, see pp. 96-97, below.)

> (4) SATURDAY 21 FEBRUARY
>
> We put on wet clothes and set off at 7.15 with Ghilberto Moncayo on the long trek into the Tortoise Country. --- (description of the group, their equipment and means of transport, and the trip to the Tortoise Country: three paragraphs, with a few internal *then's*, indicating new stages on the route, but otherwise 'durative' adverbials of the type *from time to time*) ---
>
> We had been walking for about 3 hours **when we came to our first Galápagos, a tortoise about two feet long**. --- (description of the reactions concerning the meeting with the tortoise: the rest of the paragraph) ---
>
> *An hour or so later* we passed another 2 - 2 1/2 foot tortoise - most beautifully marked, with a shiny black shell.
>
> *At about noon, when we had been walking for nearly five hours, I leading my horse*, we came upon a much larger tortoise in a pool of water. --- (narrative of the incident of filming this tortoise: the rest of the paragraph) ---
>
> *Meanwhile* there was some discussion about the plan, about food, and about who should film which tortoise first. --- Moncayo took us to one rather large tortoise---
>
> *Afterwards* the sun came out and Chris and I left our lunch and went back to this tortoise which---
>
> *Presently* Moncayo returned--- (cf. example (5) below) ---
>
> *By now* a dark cloud had come up, and we decided to leave the tortoise for the night. ---
>
> We started back to camp **just as the rain began** and were soaked through **by the time we got there**. ---
>
> *Then* we set up the jungle hammocks. ---
>
> (Scott 1983:125-126)

The adverbials in the above example form the main chain of the temporal TSC. They are thematic or topical in the textual unit they introduce, as well as in the paragraph, sentence, or clause.[6] Within a paragraph, we may find one or more series of time expressions. For instance, a closer look at the paragraph starting with *presently* in the above example reveals a number of other adverbials which structure the text on a more local level, spanning just a clause, or a sentence or two. Global and local TSC will be further dealt with in 6.1.5., below.

> (5) *Presently* Moncayo returned shouting that he had found a much larger tortoise. We followed him for three or four hundred yards and *finally* came upon a huge animal quietly feeding in front of us. I set up my camera quickly, in the hope of getting some film before the creature became aware of our presence, but *then* the others arrived. I implored Chris to wait until I had made my shot, as he had already filmed one tortoise without even showing us where it was, but in the most brash and thoughtless way he pushed past and went up on one side to get a clear view free from bushes. The tortoise saw him at once and stopped feeding. *For a short period* it went on, and I managed to get one indifferent shot, *then* it stopped altogether and sulked. Chris and Tony only shot a few feet each. (Scott 1983:126)

What example (5) also shows is a reliance on *experiential iconicity* (Enkvist 1981). Experiential iconicity refers to the instances in which an isomorphy of some kind exists between the text and our experience of the world. In other words, the temporal, spatial, causal, or socially conditioned order in the text then conforms to our perception of the world, making the discourse in some respect iconic of that world picture (see Enkvist 1981; cf. also 5.3.1. and 5.3.2. above, pp. 76 and 81, and 6.1.2.5., 6.2.3.1., and 8.1. below). In a temporally iconic text, the text-time and the story-time, Genette's *récit* and *histoire*, coincide (see Genette 1972: 77-182, who discusses time from the perspective of order, duration, and frequency; see also Rimmon-Kenan 1983:44ff.).[7] In the remainder of this study, I shall use the term *temporally iconic* for texts in which the ordering of clauses or sentences, or other elements, reflects the chronological order of the events that they depict.

---

[6] As will be pointed out in 6.2.1. below, paragraphs are typographical units, which need not coincide with textual units.

[7] For pairs of narratological terms such as *story* and *discourse*, *fabula* and *sjužet*, *histoire* and *récit*, *story* and *text*, see e.g. Chatman 1983:19ff.; Erlich 1969:240ff.; Genette 1972:77-182; Rimmon-Kenan 1983:44ff.

In (5) above, the actions and events are presented in a chronological order, and we may interpret the passage as signifying temporally the following:

(6) *Presently* M. returned--- (*Then)* we followed him--- and *finally* came upon--- (*Then)* I set up my camera--- but *then* the others arrived. (*Then)* I implored Chris---

No time expressions are needed when the temporal order in the text corresponds to the chronological order in which the events described took place - or are supposed have taken place, as in a fictional text. As we have seen in 5.3.1. above, p. 76, the implicit 'then' relationship between two subsequent actions or events is a basic criterion for the narrative type of text (Labov 1977:360). As text receivers thus take experiential iconicity for granted, departures from the temporal sequentiality must be marked in the text. As noted by Bamberg and Marchman (1990:105-106), it is somewhat counter-intuitive that "continuity markers" are needed to mark discontinuity, while the expected, genuine continuity need not be marked at all. As we shall see further on, explicit markers of the temporal TSC serve important textual and discoursal functions. That is why even an implicit 'then' may sometimes surface in a temporally iconic text.

In addition to *temporal sequentiality*, Givón (1983a:8) speaks about *temporal adjacency*, which has to do with the size of the gaps between the different actions and events. These will be further discussed in connection with action continuity, in 6.1.2.5. below, p. 105. For the moment, suffice it to say that the temporal gaps between the actions and events reported in (5) are small, a fact that also contributes to rendering explicit markers of the temporal TSC redundant between every single action and event.

Even if the text as a whole has a relatively simple "natural" ordering, it needs more structuring on the global level than within a paragraph. This may be partly due to a lower degree of temporal adjacency between paragraphs than within them. While 'then', expectedly, is mostly implicit in this text, the other time references indicating shifts in the global TSC have been given explicit expression for various reasons (see (4) on p. 92 above). Thus, they may be lexically more weighty because they specify a lack of temporal adjacency at a textual boundary (cf. e.g. *an hour or so later).* Further, a return to the temporally sequential global chain after a local one may be signalled explicitly (e.g. *afterwards*). Moreover, signals of the temporal TSC mark departures from the chronological order in the text, and they may appear again after such a departure. Hence, we find *meanwhile* emphasizing the simultaneity of events, and at the outset of the last paragraph of the text we find *then* after a description of simultaneous actions at the end of the preceding paragraph. In (7), below, the beginning of a *flashback* section is indicated by the pluperfect tense in *we had arrived* (cf. Comrie 1986). The return to the chronological time of the main story line is again marked by the initial adverbial *immediately on arrival.* In the next paragraph, a *foreshadowing* takes place, indicated by the initial time adverbial *only later*. For the terms *flashback*, *retrospection*, or *analepsis*, and *foreshadowing*, *anticipation*, or *prolepsis*, see Chatman 1983:64; Genette 1972:90-115; Rimmon-Kenan 1983:46ff.

> (7) TUESDAY 25 DECEMBER
> *Christmas Day* we set off again, this time in the tourist boat, Mingela, for Green Island. We **had arrived** at the jetty more than half an hour early, so as to get seats, but the boat was not really crowded. It left at 9.30 and was over at Green Island by 11.00, a calmer and quicker passage than yesterday. *Immediately on arrival* Phil went off to get tickets for lunch and came back with some bottles of orange. Charles and I took the gear to the observatory. ---
>
> --- *At noon* we went up the pier to the restaurants in the trees. --- We had a lunch of fried fish and immediately after we set off to the beach on the north side of the island. Here we found a place to undress under the trees from which big drops of 'rain' were falling. *Only later* did we discover that these big drops were excreted from scores of large cicadas perched all over the branches. (Scott 1983:75)

Structurally and semantically different temporal elements thus all together form a continuity chain in the text. As long as the chronological order is conspicuous and tightly followed, there is no need for the explicit temporal marker *then*, 'after that', to surface for the indication of the time relations in a text. When it does appear, from this point of view "redundantly", in a temporally organized text, it must serve other textual and discoursal functions. We shall see in 6.2.2., below, that it may serve to signal aspects of the text producer's text strategy, such as the segmentation of the text and relations between its units. Initial position, as pointed out in Chapter 2 above, is textually interesting. Hence, it is only natural for the elements placed initially in the clause, sentence, paragraph, or textual unit to perform several tasks simultaneously.

When no textual shift takes place, temporal adverbials tend to appear non-initially in the clause, cf. the capitalized adverbials in the sentences printed in bold in (8) and (9) below. In this position their scope is narrower (see 2.4. above, p. 25), and they specify the action or event reported in their clause or sentence.

(8) ---we went off, with little Gunnar as our guide, to find the big tortoise.--- He was in a pool, completely inactive, and *in a few moments* it began to rain. We stood half under the trunks of trees waiting for the rain to stop, and *in due course when it was no more than a drizzle* we made the shot of Phil climbing onto the tortoise's back.--- **Gunnar climbed on AFTERWARDS and the tortoise walked a few yards ---**

By the time we had finished photography it was nearly 11 am and we--- (Scott 1983:127)

(9) *Christmas Day* we set off again, this time in the tourist boat, Mingela, for Green Island. **We had arrived at the jetty MORE THAN HALF AN HOUR EARLY, so as to get seats, but the boat was not really crowded. It left AT 9.30 and was over at Green Island BY 11.00, a calmer and quicker passage than yesterday.** *Immediately on arrival* Phil went off to get tickets for lunch--- (Scott 1983:75)

Some such adverbials, for instance, *afterwards* in (8), and *just as the rain began* and *by the time we got there* in a paragraph-initial sentence at the end of (4), p. 92 above, indicate a point in time for the event or action of their clause or sentence which may be placed on the time line between the actions or events depicted in the preceding and following clauses or sentences. Also, the three non-initial adverbials in (9) appear in a temporally sequential order, but since they are not needed for the signalling of a shift in the temporal TSC, they need not appear initially in the clause or sentence. This will become more evident in 6.2.2. below, in connection with the discussion of the interplay of different TSCs in narratives.

Another instance worth mentioning in passing is the sentence-final *when*-clause in the topic sentence of the second paragraph of (4), on p. 92 above: *We had been walking for about 3 hours when we came to our first Galápagos, a tortoise about two feet long*. One alternative would be to regard such temporal references as part of the global chain of expressions creating a temporal TSC in the text, on the grounds of their appearing within the paragraph-initial topic sentence.[8] In other words, the entire topic sentence would then be interpreted as a signal of a macro-level temporal shift in the text. Another alternative, opted for in the present study, would be to view the non-initial position of the adverbial clause in terms of the textual unit - in this case, the rather long text-initial descriptive passage - continuing across the paragraph boundary. Introducing the event with the help of a temporal shift marker (e.g. iconically, *when we had been walking for about 3 hours, we came to*---) would have been a clear indication of a textual shift, a boundary between two separate units of text. Yet the main clause at the outset of the sentence contains recapitulative material, raising expectations of a new event being introduced into the text. But the new event is only expressed later in the sentence, and the chain of initially-positioned adverbials of time manifesting the temporal TSC in the text starts after that event. The difference between this sentence and the one starting the fourth paragraph of the text (*at about noon, when we had been walking for nearly five hours*---) is also related to *grounding* distinctions in the narrative, to different degrees of *foregroundedness* or *backgroundedness* given to the main and the subordinate clause and to the type of material contained in them, on the sentence level and on the level of the text. Students of grounding do not, however, agree on the grounding status of *when*-clauses, such as the ones discussed here (see e.g. Couper-Kuhlen 1986; Fleischman 1990:168ff.; Givón 1990:844-847; Ramsey 1987; Thompson 1987; Wårvik 1987; 1990b; 1992:264-269; cf. also 8.1. below).

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[8] For definitions of *topic sentence*, see Ingberg 1988:119.

The temporal TSC will get a more detailed treatment in this study. In 6.2.2. below, two sample narratives will be investigated in detail, to illustrate textual and discoursal functions of initially-positioned adverbials of time in this type of text. Another TSC of particular interest for the present study is that of place, to which I shall turn presently. At this point, however, a note on the two terms *continuity* and *unity*, considered in 6.1.1.1. above, is in order, as discussions concerning temporal and spatial orientation in text may often be understood in basically two different ways.

Grimes distinguishes *unity of setting*, which he divides into temporal and spatial unity. He points out that though time continuously changes we may still make reference to a point of time, and interpret it as setting (Grimes 1975:102-103). As stated above, I shall retain a terminological difference between *unity* and *continuity* of time, using the former more in the Aristotelian sense of an approximate fit between story-time and text-time, and the latter in the sense of a chain of references in the text to different points on a temporal frame (cf. 6.1.1.1. above, pp. 88-91). Thus, unity of time may, but need not, prevail within a passage between two strategy markers indicating the temporal TSC.[9] Also, the temporal setting of a narrative, such as the dates at the beginning of (4) and (7) above (pp. 92 and 95), need not, so to speak, change during the text, and an entire novel, for instance, may all be about what happened within the temporal frame given at the very beginning of the book. This I call *unity of time*, while the *temporal TSC* is the label for the particular strategy which the text producer may choose for the optimal arrangement of her/his text, in view of the communicative goal. Thus, text (4) for instance manifests temporal continuity. At the same time, it has unity of time, indicated by the date at its outset. Finally, a series of such dates form continuity on the level of the entire diary (cf. Virtanen 1992c).

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[9] See Note 4 above, p. 89, where "macro-time" is considered in connection with the discussion of the notions of *unity* and *continuity*. For *temporal elasticity* within textual units, see Chafe 1979:177-178.

6.1.2.2. Continuity of place

We saw in 6.1.1. above that text-strategic continuity may be achieved through a series of references to a spatial frame. In the same way as temporal continuity, locative or spatial continuity is also commonly realized through a chain of clause-initial, sentence-initial, or paragraph-initial adverbials, which then typically denote 'position'. Such a chain may also include non-adverbial markers of the locative TSC. As this is another continuity to be further dealt with later in the study (see 6.2.3.), an example will suffice at this point:

(10) *Half a mile to the west*, the main road crosses the Water of Leith by a bridge of 1841. *Immediately to the north* is the Old Colt Bridge, a late 18th-century rubble-built single segmental arch. *By the bridge* Roseburn Street leads to ROSEBURN HOUSE, a 16th-century tower with 17th- and 18th-century additions, built originally by Mungo Russell, an Edinburgh burgess.---

Beyond the bridge, on the north side in Murrayfield Avenue, is the Church of the Good Shepherd, an interesting work by Sir Robert Lorimer, 1899, in neo-Perpendicular style with some unusual details, including its low proportions and buttress dividing the west window. *At the top of the same street* is Murrayfield House, a fine 3-storey mansion of 1735 built for Archibald Murray, advocate.

To the west on the main road is Murrayfield Parish Church---
Opposite is--- (Hamilton 1978:155)

Givón mentions the unities of time and place, referring to the Aristotelian unities (see Givón 1984:245; cf. also Givón 1990:896-897). There is, it has been pointed out, a difference between such unities or continuities and the concept of *continuities* as defined in the present study. Grimes distinguishes two types of spatial unity. One is formed through reference to a place or a scenery (cf. the allegedly Aristotelian unity of place). Once the scenery changes, spatial unity is broken. The other type of spatial setting he calls a *trajectory*. This is "a moving sequence of spatial settings through which a participant travels" (Grimes 1975:102-103).

In my terms, then, the unity-of-scenery type of setting corresponds to what has above been referred to as a *unity of place*. A *spatial TSC*, on the other hand, might be more like the Grimesian trajectory. References to different points on the trajectory signal textual shifts. The text is structured with the help of references to the same trajectory. The spatial TSC is broken once the trajectory is changed into something else, to another trajectory, to another type of TSC, and so forth. A trajectory may, of course, be viewed as a whole, as a "macro-place" (cf. Note 4 in 6.1.1.1. above, p. 89). On the global level it may then be taken to display a unity of place, in the sense of a "unity of trajectory".

Example (10), above, is an extract from a tourist guide, and it displays a spatial TSC in a rather concrete sense. The aim of the text is to guide the text receiver around. The reader is instructed to follow a particular route, to advance from one stop to another, in order to see a number of sights. In addition to route instructions proper, the tour pattern is a frequently used strategy also in other types of texts dealing with spatial phenomena. The reader is then taken on an imaginary "tour" within the space to be described (for strategies used in the description of space, see e.g. Enkvist 1981:100-102; 1985a:324-326; 1987a:20; 1987c:209; 1989a; Hellman 1982; Klein 1980; Linde and Labov 1975; Nash 1980:38-39; Shanon 1984). Different types of place descriptions will be further examined in 6.2.3. below, pp. 191-194.

To sum up: spatial continuity is a characteristic of the text, achieved through a series of references to various places which together form a tour of some kind. At a stop, a unity of place may prevail, or we may be further guided within a smaller area. In contrast, unity of place will be used of the following type of reference to a locative setting, which, by definition, only prevails while the scene remains stable. Here the entire story takes place within the spatial setting defined at the beginning of the text (cf. the difference between *unity* and *continuity* of time, discussed above in 6.1.2.1. above, p. 98):

(11) *In the land of Li-Po* they made a very special wine. It was--- (Jones 1983:103)

6.1.2.3. Continuity of participant(s)

Participant continuity, *agentive* or *hero-centred text strategy*, or *unity of character(s)* are terms used in text and discourse linguistics to denote focus on one character or a group of characters. The group often remains more or less the same at least partly throughout the span of the TSC but it may vary in membership without losing its group identity in the text. Participant continuity is typically realized in grammar through subjects or topics and frequently associated with the agentive case. Such prototypical participants thus appear early in the clause or sentence. The alternation between full noun phrases (indefinite or definite, proper names or surrogate nouns), pronominal forms, and zero anaphora has been shown to follow principles that operate outside the clause or sentence in which these elements appear. For discussion of participant continuity, see e.g. Björklund, fc.; Björklund and Virtanen 1991; Brown 1983; Clancy 1980; van Dijk 1982; van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:204; Enkvist 1987a; 1987d; Flashner 1987; Fox 1987a; 1987b; Givón 1983a; 1983b; 1984:138-139; 1990:900ff.; Grimes 1975:43ff., 104-105, 261ff.; Longacre 1983:3, 7-8; ms.; Virtanen 1990c. In the following example the chain of references to *Marc Chagall* - a *cohesive chain* in Halliday's and Hasan's (1976:15) terminology - forms participant continuity (cf. also (1) and (2) in 6.1.1. above, p. 86):

> (12) *Marc Chagall* (1887-) was born in Vitebsk, Russia. *He* found post-revolutionary Russia, with its official anti-religious policy, increasingly difficult to work in, and, in 1922, *he* emigrated to France. Here *he* continued to paint in a personal style based on a complex mixture of the Russian icon and Russian peasant art, using themes from Russian fairy tales and Jewish folk lore. At the same time *he* combines Fauvist colour with Cubist form. (Myers and Copplestone 1977:276)

The general principles of participant reference can be summarized as follows. When a new participant is introduced into the discourse, the natural choice is a nominal form. After its introduction, the participant is typically referred to using a pronoun, or, in the instance of a very close link, zero anaphora. A full NP is again needed at a point where there is a risk of ambiguity. Ambiguity may arise from the fact that the gap between two references to the same participant is too long, thus causing too heavy a load on the text receiver's processing capacity. Another typical source of ambiguity may be found in the instance where other participants have been referred to in the interval between the two references to a particular participant. Switching the reference from one participant to another seems to require the use of a full NP especially when the participants referred to in the interval have an active role in the chain of actions and events that form the main story line. What most studies of participant reference also show is a tendency to start new textual units - major ones in particular - with a full NP, even when there is no immediate risk of ambiguity. Other factors that are often discussed in connection with referential choices include shifts in point of view, the centrality of the participant to the main story line, and the degree of familiarity or closeness assigned to a given participant. The general pattern of a literary text may also motivate the use of a particular device. Thus, for instance, to gain the effect of *framing* a textual unit (cf. Uspensky 1973), a passage may start and end with a similar reference which differs from the one(s) used in between, as shown in Björklund, fc.

Participant continuity will to some extent be discussed in 6.2.2. below, in connection with the analysis of the sample narratives. Attention will then be paid to the interplay of markers of participant, action, and temporal TSCs in this type of text. Suffice it to say here that a *break* in participant continuity in my terminology refers to the switching of the reference from one participant to another, or from participant continuity to another type of continuity. A *shift* in participant continuity, again, suggests a seemingly overmarked signalling of a continuous participant, such as a full NP where a pronoun would have been enough. In 6.2.2.1. and 6.2.2.2. we shall see how a full NP reference to a continuous participant at a point in the text where there is no risk of ambiguity may be used to indicate a transition to a new textual unit.

The use of the term *participant* varies in the literature. Since most studies of participant continuity have been concerned with narratives, the principles of participant reference primarily apply to the main character(s) in that type of text. As the present study deals with narratives and procedural place descriptions, I shall make a distinction between the continuity of animate and inanimate entities. Hence, participants are human or animate - or entities interpreted as such. Continuity of inanimate entities will be the subject of the following section.

6.1.2.4. Continuity of topic(s)

As pointed out in 6.1.2.3. above, I use the term *participant continuity* to denote a series of references to a human or animate entity or one that is treated as such (e.g. inanimate objects performing tasks typical of animate entities in fairy tales). I shall then reserve the term *topic continuity* to the restricted sense of a chain of references to inanimate or non-human entities as in example (13), differently from Givón's use (see 6.1.1. above, p. 85).

> (13) WESTERN RED CEDAR (***Thuja plicata***) is not a true cedar but a kind of cypress found from Alaska to California. *It* grows rapidly in mild wet western areas to 30m, but is slow in dry places. *It* is often grown as a hedge, clipping well, and is a useful forest tree to grow in the shade of old larch woods, giving a light, strong timber. --- (Wilkinson and Mitchell 1978:21)

In this way, in referring to *topic/participant continuity* it is possible to treat together two similar types of TSC which primarily vary according to text type and which are therefore often complementary. Topic continuity typically appears in non-narrative texts.

Givón discusses topic and/or participant continuity together. In general, his discussion of topic continuity seems very narrative-oriented. Further, his *topic* seems to refer to a clausal or sentential topic, in the rather concrete sense of a clause constituent. It is an element that most frequently functions as the subject of a clause, secondarily as the direct object. Semantically, subject topics are primarily associated with agents, less often with other case-roles such as the dative or the patient (Givón 1983a:8; 1984:138-139). Thus, it may be concluded that Givón's *topic continuity* is in practice continuity of participant as manifested in the prototypical narrative, and what is more, his use of *discourse* is to a large extent identical with precisely this type of text (see Givón 1983a).[10]

Longacre, next, makes a distinction between participant reference and reference to a theme and relates these to different notional discourse types (see 5.1.2. above, p. 61). Thus, narrative goes hand-in-hand with participant orientation. Expository discourse, again, contains themes rather than participants (Longacre 1979:118; 1983:7).[11] Finally, Grimes's use of the unity of *theme* - a global or a local one - has to do with what the text or the text fragment is about. Unity of theme is taken to prevail "as long as the speaker continues talking about the same thing." Hence, it may also cover the unity of participant(s). This or these are, however, essentially interpreted as animate objects involved in actions (Grimes 1975:43ff., 103-106; cf. also the use of *theme* and *topic* in Givón 1984:137).

Considerations of what the text is about, and what the global theme for an entire text or discourse might be, lead us to *thematic continuity*, separated from both topic and participant continuity. Thematic continuity will be briefly discussed in 6.1.2.6. below (cf. also Note 1 in 6.1.1. above, p. 85). Let me conclude this section by defining the difference between topic and participant continuity in the present study as one concerning humanness or animacy. The following text is thus steered by topic continuity. It is about *Art Nouveau*, which regularly occurs as the clausal topic and which is a notion close to the discourse topic (cf. 6.1.1.). Only full references have been underlined. In the terminology adopted here, *Art Nouveau creators* would be participants in this text, even if the span of such participant continuity is then much shorter than that of the more dominant topic continuity (for the span of continuities, see 6.1.5.1. below).

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[10] To be even more specific, Givón's topic/participant continuity seems to primarily apply to the main participant(s) in narratives. For a discussion of main vs. minor participants in narratives, see e.g. Björklund, fc.; Longacre, ms.; Virtanen 1990c.

[11] Longacre (ms.) distinguishes three kinds of participants in narratives, i.e. major participants, minor participants, and props. Props need not be human or animate.

(14) *Art Nouveau* is usually a matter of 'style' rather than a philosophy: but, in fact, distinctive ideas and not only fanciful desires prompted its appearance. Common to all the most consistently *Art Nouveau* **creators** was a determination to push beyond the bounds of historicism - that exaggerated concern with the notions of the past which characterizes the greater part of 19th-century design: **they** sought, in a fresh analysis of function and a close study of natural forms, a new aesthetic. It is true that the outer reaches of *Art Nouveau* are full of mindless pattern-making but there was, at and around the centre, a marvellous sequence of works in which the decorative and the functional fuse to novel and compelling effect. *Art Nouveau* means much more than a single look or mood: we are reminded of tall grasses in light wind, or swirling lines of stormy water, of cloven rock - the coherent but multifarious life of organic nature is always the ultimate model. (Myers and Copplestone 1977:252)

6.1.2.5. Continuity of action

Yet another type of TSC found in the literature is *action continuity*. Givón (1983a:7-8) discusses action continuity in discourse in terms of the Aristotelian unity of action. As pointed out above, he is basically concerned with the narrative type of text. Givón relates action continuity to temporality in the following two ways. First and foremost, the actual order of actions is frequently followed in the text, which is what he calls *temporal sequentiality*. Secondly, the gaps between the sequential actions are seldom very large; he calls this *temporal adjacency*. Givón's definition of action continuity thus reminds us of the notion of *experiential iconicity*, dealt with in 6.1.2.1. above, p. 93. As for the grammatical coding of action continuity, Givón points to the tense-aspect-modality system of language (Givón 1983a:7-8; 1984:245; 1990:896-897; for discussion of tense in narrative, see also e.g. Comrie 1986; Fleischman 1990). Temporal succession is, however, often also coded through a chain of clause-initial expressions of time, notably adverbials, as pointed out above in connection with the discussion of temporal continuity. Also, temporal adjacency may surface through adverbials of time. Conversely, such elements may be used to code departures from temporal sequentiality and temporal adjacency.

Example (5) in 6.1.2.1. is repeated below as (15), and the verbs indicating actions or events which are important for the development of the main thread of the narrative have been underlined. The ordering of the actions and events of this narrative follow the temporal succession of the actual events reported on here, and the gaps between them are relatively short (e.g. *set up - arrived - implored - pushed - went)* or practically non-existent *(saw - stopped; stopped - sulked).* These verbs, all in the simple past tense, also belong to the foreground, the background being given in the form of subordinate or non-finite clauses (see Wårvik 1987; 1990b; cf. 8.1. below).

> (15) Presently Moncayo *returned* shouting that he had found a much larger tortoise. We *followed* him for three or four hundred yards and finally *came upon* a huge animal quietly feeding in front of us. I *set up* my camera quickly, in the hope of getting some film before the creature became aware of our presence, but then the others *arrived*. I *implored* Chris to wait until I had made my shot, as he had already filmed one tortoise without even showing us where it was, but in the most brash and thoughtless way he *pushed* past and *went* up on one side to get a clear view free from bushes. The tortoise *saw* him at once and *stopped* feeding. For a short period it *went on*, and I *managed to get* one indifferent shot, then it *stopped* altogether and *sulked*. Chris and Tony only *shot* a few feet each. (Scott 1983:126)

Topic/participant continuity may change while action continuity prevails.[12] In this narrative passage, we have a group of participants ('we') whom Ghilberto Moncayo - himself living in the Galápagos Islands - joins on this particular trek into the Tortoise Country, to show them where to find giant tortoises so that they might film these. The group, as pointed out above, may temporarily vary without losing its group identity (i.e. 'we'). Thus we have here members of the group individualized: *I* (who is the narrator, and the main participant of the account), *the others*, who include e.g. *Chris* and *Tony*. There is a high degree of uniformity in this cast of characters in the text. Yet another participant, the tortoise, becomes the actor for a short passage towards the end of the paragraph, while continuity of the group of the main participants still passes through, as in this case, it has a larger scope.

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[12] Cf. Aristotle (*Poetics*, 6) for the status of agents as secondary to action. Cf. also Givón's (1983a:8) implicational hierarchy of continuities, in which action continuity includes topic/participant continuity (THEME > ACTION > TOPICS/PARTICIPANTS). Givón's hierarchy seems to apply to narratives. It is possible that other types of text would yield slightly different hierarchies.

Enkvist (1987a:22) gives an example of a text relying more on action continuity than on that of participant(s), viz. a radio report on a boxing match. Time is of course again at least implicitly present. It is interesting to note that even participant continuity may occur at least partly in an implicit form if it is not as crucial as action, or if it is so self-evident that we need no explicit references to it, or if, as in this instance, there is no time to identify the agents as quickly as the series of actions to be reported take place. In the sports commentary text referred to above, agents are often postposed. They appear in the form *by X* once there is more time to comment on such less important aspects of the match as well.

Let us now take a look at procedural text, which typically manifests action continuity. Overt participant continuity is often lacking, and the verbs of action forming a continuity chain in the text usually appear initially in the clause or sentence. The implicit temporal continuity (in the sense of 'first-then-then---') and participant continuity (i.e. a non-specific 'we', 'one', or 'you') may occasionally surface in this kind of text.[13] Successful instructions conform to experiential iconicity in the ordering of clause and sentence elements as well as of sentences and textual units. Failing to do so, they mark deviations from the expected natural order.[14]

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[13] Elements that may occur in initial position before the verb indicating action continuity (and its potentially explicit subject) in this type of text include (a) temporal expressions (e.g. *first*, *then*, or recapitulative expressions such as *when you have done this*) or temporally iconic logical markers (e.g. the enumerative *1*, *2*, etc.); (b) spatial expressions (e.g. *at the top of Grange Rd. go straight on* in a tourist guide); (c) other signals of text segmentation such as purpose clauses (e.g. *for head* in (16), or *to continue the walk, turn right* in a tourist guide), conditional clauses, and related *when*-clauses of the type 'whenever'; (d) other elements that temporally or causally precede the action indicated by the verb (e.g. the temporally iconic *into a separate pot, put half the butter)*; and finally, (e) crucial information which therefore has to come early in the clause or sentence (e.g. the manner adverbials in *gently*, *in slow motion, bend your elbows outward*, or *gradually add the sugar)*. Some of these form continuity chains, while others operate on the level of their clause or sentence.

For discussion of various aspects of instructive or procedural texts, see e.g. Ciliberti 1990; Dixon 1987; Puglielli 1990; Thompson 1985; Wikberg 1992; fc.; cf. also Bäcklund 1989.

(16) THE TORTOISE

Gather and *stuff* a 30 cm (12 in) diameter circle of fur fabric. *Sew* on flower trimming for the shell markings, as illustrated.

For head *cut* two 9 by 11 cm (3 1/2 by 4 1/4 in) strips of contrasting fleece. *Join* round edges, rounding off corners at one short edge and leaving other edges open. *Turn*, *stuff*, *gather* raw edges and *sew* to tortoise close to base. *Catch* head to body a little further up to hold it upright. *Make* eyes and nose as for bee.

For each foot *cut* two 6 cm (2 3/8 in) squares of fleece. *Join* as for head, *turn* and *stuff*, then *oversew* raw edges to body as illustrated. *Sew* frilled trimming in place to complete. (Greenhowe 1982:64)

(17) STEP 1

When the design *was* finally *settled* (49), with the tesserae lying FACE UPWARDS, and properly spaced (2 mm or 1/16 in. should be allowed for grouting) the area *was* carefully *measured*, allowing 6 mm (1/4 in.) extra all round.

STEP 2

The blockboard *was* then *cut* to this final size - 470 mm x 930 mm (18 1/2 in. x 37 in.) - and the design squares *marked* on it (50).

STEP 3

The legs *were* then *screwed* on (51).

STEP 4

Tracing paper squares *were* now *cut* to a unit size of 305 mm x 228 mm (12 in. x 9 in.). This covered some six squares at a time, which was the largest area of tesserae that could be transported. --- (Hutton 1977:51)

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[14] Cf. Dixon 1987, who proposes that the processing of very short, not unfamiliar instructions following a reversed order of steps involves a mental rearrangement of these steps for the text receiver to be able to construct the proper mental plan. Furthermore, the assumption is that text receivers understand directions by constructing a mental plan from the top down, from the general to specific, in terms of a hierarchy of actions from a higher-level action to lower-level ones.

Text (16) is an example of Longacre's [+projected] procedural discourse, (17) of [-projected] one (cf. 5.1.2. above, p. 61, and 5.3.2., p. 82). While action continuity is typically attained through a series of verbs in the imperative form as in (16), this is not the only possibility. Hence, action continuity surfaces for instance through the passive voice in (17). This is so because of the irrelevance of the participant/actor identity here, and presumably also because of the wish to avoid the narrative type of text. A non-projected text with participant, action, and temporal continuity obviously resembles a narrative. While it is of course possible to realize the procedural type of discourse in the form of a narrative type of text (see the discussion in 4.1. above, pp. 46-48; cf. also Virtanen 1992b), the instructive type of text has here been preferred. In these temporally ordered series of actions, we still understand a non-specific human actor or actors of the type 'we', 'one', 'they', or, commonly, a non-specific 'you' pointing at the text receiver(s). Sometimes such participant continuity also surfaces, as in the following examples. Though procedural discourse may then resemble e.g. description or narration, we have seen that in narratives continuity is built around a specific, unique participant or a group of them (cf. de Beaugrande 1982:409; Longacre 1976:203; 1983:8; see also 5.3.2. above, p. 81).

(18) *Connect* the TV using the coax lead and transfer switch provided. **You will have to tune** the TV to the ZX-80 frequency, approximately channel 36 on UHF (UK), channel 2 VHF (USA), so *check* that **you** can do this - most TV sets either have a continuously variable tuning control or, if they select channels with push-buttons, have separate tuning controls for each channel. If **your** set is a push-button set *select* an unused channel. *Turn down* the volume control.
OK - we can't put off the moment of truth any longer!
Switch on the TV.
When it has warmed up...
SWITCH ON THE ZX-80.
You will be disappointed to see a horrible grey mess on the screen!!
Try tuning in the TV set. --- (Davenport 1980:9,11)

(19) The second stage is the stop bath. At the end of the developing time, **you pour** the developer out of the developing tank and **replace** it by the stop bath, a mildly acidic solution which--- (Hedgecoe 1976:186)

(20) After a few minutes, figures appear at the top left corner of the screen to display the time, in minutes and seconds. **You** have 5 minutes in which to collect as many oysters as **you** can. There are only two keys to press:
; swim to the surface
/ dive

To start, *press* '/'. The diver jumps into the water and swims down. There is no need to hold a key down or to press it repeatedly. Once **you** have pressed '/', **you** continue to dive until **you** press ';'. Then **you** rapidly twist around and head for the surface. --- (Bishop 1983:126)

What examples (15)-(20) thus share is what Longacre calls *contingent temporal succession*. As this is also the basic definition of Givón's action continuity, one might consider its inclusion into temporal continuity. Action continuity is closely connected with narrative and procedural (or instructive) types of text. Therefore, it might profitably be dealt with in terms of temporal and participant continuity. It tends to overlap with one or the other if not with both. Actions have actors, even when these are not explicitly present, and narrative and procedural discourse are characterized by an at least implicit temporal continuity. The text receiver takes experiential iconicity for granted if the text is not marked otherwise.[15] This suggests that action continuity is basically similar to temporal continuity, coinciding with unmarked chronological time. Temporal adjacency, Givón's secondary criterion, does not alone seem to justify action continuity.

If, however, action continuity is understood in the sense of unity of a macro-action, consisting of a number of sub-actions, temporal continuity is of course not enough to cover the phenomenon (cf. Note 4 in 6.1.1.1.

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[15] Temporal sequentiality may, however, be marked for other purposes, cf. discussion of the temporal TSC in 6.1.2.1. above, p. 91ff., and in particular, 6.2.2. below.

above, p. 89). We must then define the limits of the unity also on the basis of the sub-actions that belong to one macro-action rather than to another. In this light, example (15), above, would deal with the macro-action of filming a tortoise, emerging through the different sub-actions (realized through the series of italicized verbs) which all belong to this macro-action. The next macro-action in the narrative (e.g. leaving the tortoise for the night, in the subsequent paragraph of the text which example (15) is an excerpt from, see (4) above, p. 92) might break action continuity on a local level. The series of the more local macro-actions would thus together form the macro-action on the global level of the entire text (cf. also discussion in 6.1.5.1. below).[16] Temporal sequentiality may prevail over the boundaries of local macro-actions (in the above instance, local macro-actions had the scope of a paragraph, roughly). Temporal adjacency, however, is liable to break at a macro-action boundary. Temporal continuity might thus parallel global action continuity, understood in the sense of the continuity of a global macro-action.

Action continuity will be referred to in 6.2.2. below. It is then interpreted as parallel to temporal continuity though separate from it. Even if actions can be subsumed under a single macro-action, the sub-actions demand full and explicit lexicalization. Thus, actions are, generally speaking, exposed through items which are lexically heavier that those marking other continuities. The latter may even be left out: this is true of the implicit 'then' in temporal continuity and of zero anaphora in topic/participant continuity. Also, action continuity differs from the other types of TSCs in that its realizations frequently carry new information in the clause or sentence, while the others typically convey either textually or situationally given or inferrable information (for different kinds of information, see Chapter 7 below).

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[16] In the light of Givón's implicational hierarchy of THEME > ACTION > TOPICS/PARTICIPANTS, it may be in order to view action continuity in terms of unity of macro-action. Thematic continuity, if related to the discourse topic as in 6.1.2.6. below, is a natural candidate for the most "macro" notion. It ranks highest in the hierarchy. For details, see Givón 1983a:8. Cf. also Note 1 on p. 85, and Note 12 on p. 106, above.

6.1.2.6. Continuity of theme

It has already become evident above that the notions of *topic* and *theme* are used in numerous ways in the literature. In Chapter 7, such concepts will be discussed in more detail within the framework of information structure. For a useful survey of definitions, see Enkvist 1984:53-54.

Both Grimes and Givón use *topic* to denote a *clausal* or *sentential* constituent. They, then, further separate topic from *theme*, a macro-structural concept of what the speaker is talking about. As has been pointed out above, this is what Grimes's *unity of theme* and Givón's *thematic continuity* basically refer to (Givón 1983a:8; 1984:137-138; 1990:passim; Grimes 1975:103, 324; cf. also Longacre 1979:118). Thematic continuity, being a higher-level phenomenon, might thus be characterized as a continuity of the *discourse topic* (cf. van Dijk's (1977:119, 130ff.) *topic of discourse;* also cf., however, the discussion of the much broader notion of *discourse topic* in Brown and Yule 1983:71ff.; see also Note 1 in 6.1.1. above, p. 85, and 6.1.2.4., p. 103ff.). In their discussion of the discourse topic and related notions, Brown and Yule stress the importance of not delimiting the term *discourse topic* to single sentences indicating roughly what the text is about. The notion has to be conceived of in a very broad sense, incorporating relevant aspects from the textual and the situational context needed for the interpretation of the text (Brown and Yule 1983:71-83).

The two notions of *clausal/sentential topic* and *discourse topic* must be kept apart. Similarly, it may seem necessary to assume the existence of a higher-level *thematic continuity*, which may incorporate other, more specific continuities, such as *topic/participant continuity*. These were interpreted above as two separate continuities on the same level of analysis, manifested in text through a chain of elements typically occurring as clausal topics. In what follows, the role of *thematic continuity*, or continuity of the *discourse topic*, will be touched upon. A more thorough discussion of this continuity may be found in Virtanen 1988a:102-106.

If we are to discuss thematic continuity at all it has to be conceived of in the very broad sense of discourse topic as outlined by Brown and Yule. What the text is about will thus cover a wide range of aspects, not only the subject-matter in the strict sense. In terms of the model presented in

4.1. above, continuity of the discourse topic must be related to hierarchically higher phenomena such as discourse function and discourse type. That is why it may be interpreted as "the overall matrix for all other continuities in the discourse" (Givón 1983a:8). The other continuities are determined by the overall text strategy. This explains why thematic continuity differs from the other continuities in not being manifested in the same concrete kind of way on the textual surface: it is typically realized in text through the other more specific continuities. In this sense, then, thematic continuity is not a *text-strategic* but a *discourse-strategic* continuity.

In sum, then, we need to distinguish discourse topic from clausal and sentential topics. Also, it may be profitable to assume the existence of a higher-level notion in the sense of a thematic discourse-strategic continuity. Such continuity, however, being closely connected with the discourse topic, has to be conceived of in very broad terms. The more specific TSCs are preferred to thematic continuity in textualization. They, in turn, show up in the text in the form of concrete linguistic features of different kinds. It is possible to pinpoint several phenomena on the textual surface as markers of thematic continuity. Hence, Givón (1983a:8) mentions conjunction. We must, however, be careful not to reduce thematic continuity into the form of an argument pattern, or a semantic macrostructure (see van Dijk 1980). In the present study, thematic continuity is interpreted as an abstract, high-level, discourse-related phenomenon, and not as a text-strategic choice of the type of TSC. The activated relevant aspects that form the thematic discourse-strategic continuity have an influence on the overall text strategy, and through it, on the actual text.

6.1.3. Text-strategic continuity and text types

Let us now approach the different types of TSC presented above from the perspective of text types, as defined in Chapter 5. The two-level typology of discourse types and text types, presented in 4.1. and further treated in Chapter 5 above, may be used to account for the different nature of the thematic continuity and the other continuities. In 6.1.2.6., above, it was argued that the hierarchically higher thematic continuity - i.e. continuity of the discourse topic - is a discourse-strategic continuity, rather than a text-strategic one. Without attempting a further analysis of such an evasive notion, it may be concluded that thematic continuity must occur in all types of authentic discourse, even if it need not be explicitly exposed on the textual surface through syntactically describable markers.[17] The more specific text-strategic continuities are more readily textualized, and they vary according to text type.

To start with, either topic or participant continuity may be found in all text types. Participant continuity is one of the basic characteristics of narrative (see e.g. Chapter 5). It is then closely connected with the TSC of time and that of action. Other types of text may also manifest participant continuity, for instance, expository or argumentative text, or descriptions of persons (cf. e.g. (1) in 6.1.1. above, p. 86). The difference here is the lack of action continuity, and usually, that of explicit temporal continuity as well. In procedural text, participant continuity is basically implicit (see 6.1.2.5. above). Next, topic continuity often appears in expository and argumentative texts, and it may also be found in descriptions and instructions. Thus, topic continuity is basically a non-narrative continuity, while narratives are primarily built around participants.

Secondly, temporal sequentiality is the fundamental characteristic of the narrative type of text, which accordingly, typically exposes a continuity of time. The temporal TSC is in fact so closely associated with the narrative type of text that if text producers wish to avoid the effect of this text type when they have to deal with temporally organizable materials, they seem to break the potential temporal sequentiality of the text. Examples of this abound in news stories (cf. Reinhart 1984:782, 806; for news story reconstruction, see Duszak 1991).[18] In procedural texts, the temporal continuity may surface but often it remains implicit. Here action continuity is usually temporal enough, as the text essentially relies on experiential iconicity.

If we include the temporal, iconic representation of the logical sequencing of discourse in the temporal TSC, we may find this type of continuity in all types of text. Temporally iconic, logical succession can be expressed e.g. by enumerative conjuncts such as *first, secondly, thirdly* (cf. CGEL:634ff.), and it is typically present in instructive, expository, and argumentative text (Werlich 1976:177, 192). In 8.3. chains of different types of initially-placed adverbials will be viewed as a scale reaching from temporal succession to logical succession. The scale will be discussed from the viewpoint of different text types.

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[17] For discourse topic in thought-disoriented speech, see Brown and Yule 1983:74.

[18] The wish to avoid the temporal TSC and the narrative flavour also seems to explain the tendency of temporal adverbials to appear in medial position in newstexts. Jacobson (1964:148) claims that this position is motivated by the unimportance of the adverbial, whereas Haegeman (1982) argues that avoiding ambiguity lies behind such a placement.

Thirdly, the continuity of place may appear in several types of text that deal with spatial relationships: expositions and descriptions of space, instructions (e.g. tourist guides), or even narratives (e.g. *John visited several cities during his Interrail-trip. In Paris, he saw---. In London, he went to---, and in Rome, he---).* Finally, action continuity seems to be limited to two types of text, i.e. narratives and instructive texts. In this sense, it is thus the most text-type specific one of the different TSCs.

The relations between the different types of TSC and text types might be summarized in terms of the following parametric scales. They are crude generalizations, and should be interpreted accordingly. An application must allow for variation in terms of non-prototype structures and blends of different alternatives.

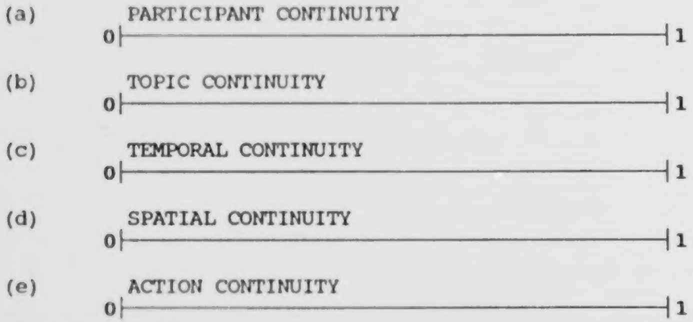

Figure 4. ***Five TSC parameters*** **(*0* means no conformity, *1* means maximal conformity to the particular TSC).**

The weighting of the above parameters will differ from one text type to another. Further, each of them constitutes a scale of conformity to a particular TSC. This is indicated by the 0-1 scale, ranging from no conformity (i.e. 0) to maximal conformity (i.e. 1). The parameters can obviously be given any value between these extremes. Moreover, some of the parameters might be integrated so that they have a neutral ground in the middle. Hence, an integrated scale with maximal participant continuity and minimal topic continuity at the one end and maximal topic continuity and minimal participant continuity at the other end would cover all text types, while the other, non-integrated scales would be given a heavier weight in some text types than in others. Similarly, the temporal continuity might be merged with another, converse scale of logical continuity, and the opposite of action continuity might be that of state. However, the parameters will below be viewed one by one, to pinpoint the characteristic weightings in prototypical text types.

The above parameters show an obvious bias towards narrative. As stated above, a maximal positive value (along the scale of 0-1) on the parameters (a), (c), and (e) yields a prototypical narrative. The crucial one of these is the parameter (c), as we have seen above. If the material to be textualized is spatially organizable, the parameter (d) may be given a positive value. It will then merge with the parameter (c). While the parameter (b) is here given no weight at all (value = 0), it is an essential ingredient of a non-narrative text.

Non-narrative texts are structured with the help of a number of text-strategic principles that lie outside the scope of the TSCs considered here. An expository or argumentative text, for instance, might be described through values and weightings inverse of those of narrative. But this would only serve to distinguish them from narratives, as non-narrative texts. It would not give us the tools to investigate their particular structure.

Spatially organized texts, however, form a category of their own. This will become evident in 8.3., below, where the above parameters will be further dealt with (cf. also Virtanen 1990a). As we have seen above, even the spatial continuity may surface in narratives, as it may easily convey the implicit temporal sequentiality of the text. The implicit temporal continuity is, however, also present in place descriptions, in which the parameter (d) is typically weighed heavier than the parameters (b) or (c). In place descriptions and other non-narrative texts dealing with spatial phenomena, topic continuity may merge with the spatial one. Finally, the weighting pattern of descriptive text ignores the parameter (e): descriptions deal with states, rather than actions. In contrast, the parameter (e) is typically given the heaviest weight in instructions. This choice merges with the implicit temporal continuity, on parameter (c). Instructions may but need not display other continuities.

One explanation for the variation of certain types of TSC as to text type may be found if we take another look at experiential iconicity (cf. 6.1.2.1. above, p. 93). Instructions are what Enkvist calls "operational texts in the terse style" (Enkvist 1985a:324; cf. also Note 19 below, p. 118). The text receiver expects them to follow experiential iconicity. Thus, the text producer may make good use of such a contract, to economize expression. The temporal and participant-oriented continuities may be left implicit, and the series of lexically weighty verbs will suffice to create TSC in instructive text. Action continuity, as pointed out above, demands explicit lexicalization.

Place descriptions, too, make use of experiential iconicity (cf. Enkvist 1988, for the more universal character of this type of text, as compared to e.g. argumentation). In a tourist-guide text, for instance, it is economical to first indicate the location and then show the reader the sight. This is where the spatial TSC comes in handy (cf. 6.2.3. and 8.1., below). Due to temporal iconicity, the order in which the locations are indicated in the text is interpreted as the order in which they are supposed to be visited, and temporal continuity may thus be left implicit. In oral route instructions, however, more redundancy is needed. Here, the iconic strategy may make use of a temporal TSC, and first ask the text receiver to move, then show where, and only thereafter present the sight or other motivation for the stop (cf. also Virtanen 1990a).

Narratives manifest the continuities of participant(s) and action. Further, explicit expression of the temporal TSC is needed if the text departs from the expected iconic order. The temporal TSC is, however, often used explicitly in narratives even when it is uneconomical from the perspective of principles of experiential iconicity. This use has to do with its functions in text segmentation, inter alia, as will become evident through the analyses of the two sample narratives in 6.2.2., below.

The type of TSC chosen in a prototypical text thus seems to be one that is closest to the discourse topic, and that best fulfils the economy principle by making use of experiential iconicity. Non-prototype texts are of course more elastic, and thus, through less expected choices, they convey more information than the prototypical texts in which one may often predict the form of the next move (cf. Enkvist 1991b). A related factor of importance here is the degree of operationality vs. evocativity aimed at (see Enkvist 1985a:324).[19] The tourist-guide texts to be analysed in 6.2.3., below, are extremely operational. The fairy tales in 6.2.2., on the other hand, are evocative but conform to expected strategies to create a maximal amount of reader orientation.

6.1.4. Cooccurrence of continuities

In 6.1.2. it was pointed out that a text normally includes several TSCs. These may cooccur or combine and thus appear in various compositions of dominant and subordinate, or global and local continuities. The present section concentrates on the cooccurrence of different types of TSC. Their combinations into hierarchic patterns of global and local strategies will be the concern of 6.1.5.

6.1.4.1. Single-, dual-, and multiple-strategy texts

Enkvist makes a distinction between *single-strategy texts*, *dual-strategy texts*, and *multiple-strategy texts* according to the number of cooccurring TSCs present in the text. At the same time, however, he points out the difficulty of finding real single-strategy texts (see Enkvist 1987a:20ff.; 1987c; 1987d). As an example of a single-strategy text Enkvist cites the chronicle as typically involving a temporal continuity (Enkvist 1987a:21; 1987c:207; 1987d). Time is, as we have seen, present in one form or another in all text. Therefore, single-strategy texts may be found only among those which are steered by a temporal continuity. Time is then the topic entity of the text. Some of Hoey's (1986) *colony texts*, such as seminar programmes, lists of church services, or magazines containing radio and TV programmes, might be regarded as single-strategy texts as long as they are ordered by time or date. Another example of a potentially single-strategy text might be (10) in 6.1.2.2. above, p. 99. It manifests only one explicit continuity, the TSC of place. But the text is implicitly temporal, and the topic continuity here merges with spatiality. This raises the issue of explicit and implicit continuities, which will be dealt with in 6.1.4.2. below. Let me, however, first briefly consider dual-strategy texts and multiple-strategy texts.

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[19] Enkvist (1985a:324) calls texts *operational* if their discourse function is to instruct or to prompt the text receiver to carry out a particular task. Operational texts thus relate to reality and to the text receiver. *Evocative* texts, on the contrary, might arise out of the expressive, persuasive, or aesthetic discourse function. Hence, they may relate to the text producer, the text receiver, or to the message itself. Operational texts make use of a shared situational context and often conform to a high degree to experiential iconicity. Evocative texts, in contrast, rely on the text receiver's ability to build a universe of discourse around the text. Naturally, such texts may also manifest experiential iconicity but it need not be used in the same systematic way as in operational texts.

A narrative may be regarded as a typical dual-strategy text, with its continuities of time and participant(s), the latter functioning frequently as actor(s), cf. Longacre's first two parameters dealt with in 5.1.2. above (p. 61). Yet, if we reckon with action continuity, a narrative counts as a multiple-strategy text. Next, action continuity is typically manifested in instructive texts (cf. e.g. example (16) in 6.1.2.5. above, p. 108). Such texts may, however, also involve other continuities, e.g. a topic, participant, or temporal continuity, as we have seen above.

Multiple-strategy texts, in the sense of texts involving more than two strategies, seem to be the easiest to find. Depending on whether we count only explicit continuities or implicit ones as well, as was done above, we get different results in our classification of texts along this division. An example of an explicitly multiple-strategy text would be for instance (15) in 6.1.2.5. above (p. 106), with its continuities of time, participant(s) and action. The number of cooccurring strategies in a text tells us something about its complexity.[20] Extreme types of operational texts may rely on a single organizing principle, which is often used systematically throughout the text or text fragment. In a multiple-strategy text, in contrast, several chains of TSC may be needed for the optimal structuring of the text. It often seems possible to pinpoint one of them as a dominant strategy. In addition to the cooccurring continuities, texts often consist of various combinations of global and local strategies, as will be illustrated shortly.

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[20] In this light, it seems possible that complexity in terms of sentence structure does not automatically imply complexity of text structure. Hence, for instance the often very condensed travel-guide texts typically contain long and syntactically complex sentences (see e.g. 6.2.3. below). Yet, they may remain textually simple: They may be systematically steered by a single text-strategic continuity, which merges with other implicit continuities and conforms to experiential iconicity. Conversely, a multiple-strategy text may but need not contain complex sentence structure. Still, the text may seem complex from the text-strategic point of view, and therefore, explicit signalling of the overall text strategy may be needed to a larger extent than in single-strategy texts.

6.1.4.2. Explicit and implicit continuities

Another aspect of continuities that has slipped into the discussion and needs an additional word or two is the relationship between implicit and explicit continuities. How far dare we classify texts according to an implicit criterion? The answer to this question obviously affects the grouping of texts according to the number of cooccurring strategies. One might perhaps say that the boundaries of the three groups discussed above remain fuzzy, even if we do not use the fuzzy criterion of implicit continuities.

The view we adopt of implicit strategies also affects the kind of continuities we find in a particular type of text. Explicit strategy exponents point to participant, action, and/or temporal continuities in narratives, locative continuity in place descriptions, locative and/or action continuities in tourist guides (i.e. procedural texts involving imaginary routes or tours), topic continuity in expository texts, time - or else, time and topic/participant continuity - in chronicles, and so forth. The self-evident, implicit discourse topics, participant continuity (in procedural discourse), and temporal continuity (e.g. in place descriptions) will, in that case, not be reckoned with as long as they do not appear in the text itself.

On the other hand, we cannot do without these implicit categories when explaining phenomena such as comprehension of the discourse topic. Also, implicit temporality comes to the surface when there is a need to mark time relations departing from a chronological order, or when temporal markers are lexically weighty (e.g. *finally, that evening*). Similarly, the occurrence of an occasional *then* or *you* or *we* in procedural texts (or *then* in narratives) bears witness to an underlying continuity which is only sporadically exposed on the textual surface. As the explicitness/implicitness scale is not something all types of continuities seem to participate in, it is not well suited to provide a basis for classification. It seems difficult to find, for instance, implicit topic continuity (but cf. zero anaphora, discussed in Givón 1983a, which, however, seems to be used very locally).

6.1.5. Combinations of continuities

In addition to a cooccurrence of text-strategic continuities, a text may also manifest a combination of these. In this section, the scope of TSC is first discussed, and combinations of global and local strategies are then related to the notions of unitype and multitype texts (cf. 5.2.2. above, p. 67ff.).

6.1.5.1. Scope of text-strategic continuities

The scope of a text-strategic continuity may vary from a sentence or two to the entire text. The discussion of these strategies has so far mostly concentrated on *global* continuities running through the whole text. Such global continuities frame the text by steering it on a higher level than *local* strategies, which are found, for instance, within a paragraph or across a few sentences. (Some of the texts cited above have, however, been fragments rather than whole texts, and the strategies appearing in the quotations need therefore not qualify as global as far as the entire text is concerned.) Local continuities have an important role in defining textual units of various kinds (cf. 6.2.1. below).

So, the span of a TSC may vary from a global textual chain covering any length of text to arches whose scope is limited to just a few sentences, or even clauses. One or more local strategies can thus be embedded into the main or global strategy. In tourist guides, for instance, the different stops we are led to are often dominantly signalled by a global locative continuity (cf. 6.2.3., below). Local text-strategic continuities may then be centred around a topic, participant, place, or some other notion. This gives the writer a way of indicating the important aspects of the sight, or the various things to see at that point. Sometimes a history of the sight is inserted into the relevant place on the tourist's route, and we may then find a local temporal continuity marked with sentence-initial adverbials of time. Similarly, in narratives, there may be variation, for instance, between different participants or groups of them, time and place (cf. 6.2.2., below). The total strategy of a text thus arises out of a dominant main text-strategic continuity, perhaps cooperating with other global strategies and a hierarchy of substrategies or subordinate local continuities, within which, in turn, various dominances may be found.

Let us consider an extract from a procedural text: a travel-guide article steered by a locative text-strategic continuity. The global strategy surfaces regularly at the beginning of the paragraphs in the form of sentence-initial locatives - adverbials or NPs. These indicate a new spot on the route described in the text and a shift to a new section in the text. At times this strategy also surfaces in the form of non-finite or finite clauses instructing the reader where to go next. Outlining the route which the text receiver is supposed to follow, the chain of these locative expressions is thus used to give the text cohesion and coherence. Another of its crucial functions is to segment the text. Each locative expression marks the beginning of a new section, by denoting a new stop on the route. To illustrate these points, a few anticipatory examples of these expressions (21) may be in order. This kind of text will be further discussed in 6.2.3., below. Example (22) illustrates a stop on the tourist's route, and the paragraph contains several local strategies.

(21) a. *Opposite on the l.* is **Saumarez Park**, formerly the home of Admiral Lord de Saumarez, one of the most famous of the Channel Islanders and--- (McGregor Eadie 1981:69)

b. **Vazon Bay**, the next along, has Fort Hommet at the N. end and Fort Le Crocq at the S. end. (McGregor Eadie 1981:70)

c. *Continuing W. along the main road, at 4 1/2 km,* is the crossroads for Kings Mills. *Turn l.* to visit the **Guernsey Tomato Museum** which--- (McGregor Eadie 1981:68)

(22) *On the other side of Cobo Rd* stands another famous manor - **La Haye du Puits**. It is said to have been built originally by Sir Richard La Haye du Puits of Normandy who, wishing to remain loyal to Henry II of England when Geoffrey of Anjou raised rebellion, fled to Guernsey. In the construction he destroyed an old cromlech for which the islanders told him he would be cursed. Being superstitious, Sir Richard began to feel doomed and gave La Haye du Puits to the Church to turn into a nunnery, making it a condition that the nuns should daily pray that the curse be removed from him. Legend says that the guardian spirits of the cromlech were not to be appeased and the unhappy nuns became harassed and finally left. There is much superstition regarding the destruction of dolmens and it is often considered by the islanders to bring a curse upon the person responsible. Despite this many of the cromlech stones have been taken away and used in the building of homesteads down through the ages. La Haye Manor with its 18C turrets has been converted into private flats.

Continuing W. the Cobo Rd comes to the coastal road---
(McGregor Eadie 1981:70)

At each major stop on the route it is important to know what to visit and look at. Therefore a further set of new locative continuities may appear, especially in the instance of museums, churches, castles, and the like, to indicate what the sight offers to see. The tourist may also wish to know more about the sights. Such information may be given in a clause, or in a sentence or two which follow say, topic or participant continuity, or continuity of time or place. In (22), the sight, La Haye du Puits, is introduced by the sentence-initial and paragraph-initial place adverbial *on the other side of Cobo Rd*. The adverbial denotes a stop on the route, the location of this sight. The manor-house subsequently becomes the topic of the paragraph. We thus find a local topic continuity at this point in the globally locative text, cf. (*La Haye du Puits -*) *it - in the construction - La Haye Manor*. Within this frame, we come across an even more local participant continuity (and implicit time 'then'), as the origins of the manor are recounted: (*Sir Richard La Haye du Puits of Normandy who -*) *he - Sir Richard*. The shift to this episode within the paragraph is marked by the sentence-initial adverbial *in the construction*. As an incident giving rise to superstitious fears plays a central part in the history of the sight, the text consequently develops into a more general description of the existence of superstition on the island, and this shift is marked by an existential construction commentizing[21] 'superstition' (*There is much superstition regarding---)*. Return to topic continuity again is effected by a sentence starting with a repetition of the topic-NP as its subject *(La Haye Manor with its 18C turrets)*, and the next paragraph starts with instructions taking us to the next spot on the route.

6.1.5.2. Combinations of continuities related to the notions of unitype and multitype texts

Combinations of text-strategic continuities take us back to the continuum between unitype and multitype texts, outlined in 5.2.2. above (p. 67ff.). Unitype texts might now be redefined as consisting of texts with a single continuity or several cooccurring global continuities, while multitype texts by definition embed different continuities within a dominant global continuity, which then acts as a frame.[22] These notions should, however, be seen as end-points on a continuum rather than as a binary division. Most examples in this chapter represent unitype texts: they may be assigned to a particular text type even if they may not conform to the prototype of that category.

As was pointed out in 5.2.2., multitype texts can be assigned to a specific text type mainly through identification of the frame, and not, for instance, through the quantity of text representing the different text types embedded within the frame (cf. also Smith's concept of *discourse framework*, discussed in 5.2.2., p. 71). It is, of course, possible to analyse every single clause which differs from others in a text as representing a separate text type. For instance (22) in 6.1.5.1. above, p. 123, would then consist of a main procedural-place-description type of text embedding an exposition explaining various aspects of the sight in question at that stop (not just describing it). The exposition, in turn, would have to be interpreted as embedding further text types: first a narrative of the origins of the manor and subsequently a description of superstition on the island. Consequently, even the extract (22) would count as a multitype text.

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[21] *Commentization* refers to the placement of an item clause-finally or sentence-finally, to regulate the information flow in the clause or sentence in such a way that the maximal end-weight will fall on the item in question. See Enkvist 1984:55.

Correspondingly, *topicalization* is used to indicate the placement of an item clause-initially or sentence-initially for textual motivations. Neither topicalization nor commentization brings about changes in the syntactic structure of the clause or sentence. For discussion of *topicalization*, cf. 2.4. above, p. 19ff.; see Enkvist 1984:55.

[22] Obviously, both unitype texts and multitype texts may represent single-, dual-, or multiple-strategy texts. In multitype texts, further, both the frame and the embedded type(s) may consist of cooccurring strategies.

To take another example still, (23) below is primarily a unitype biographical narrative, or to be more precise, an expository narrative.[23] It is steered by the global continuities of time (in italics) and participant (*Leonardo da Vinci;* in capitals). It also, for instance, displays local topic continuities (the topic being in the first instance the painting *Adoration of the Magi*, and in the second paragraph, the *Madonna of the Rocks)*. Further, it manifests participant continuity outside the frame of temporal continuity *(Leonardo was a compulsive draughtsman whose---)*. We might therefore conclude that it is a multitype text with expository and descriptive passages embedded into the narrative frame.

(23) **LEONARDO DA VINCI** (1452-1519). *By 1476*, LEONARDO was living in the house of his master Verrocchio and had already painted the portrait which anticipates his famous **Mona Lisa** by 25 years, the **Ginevra di Benci**, now in Washington. *In 1481* HE was commissioned to paint the **Adoration of the Magi**. The unfinished picture in the Uffizi reveals the extent of his originality. The central group is a tightly composed pyramid of figures from which the landscape recedes into distant atmospheric depth. It prefigures his later studies of the **Virgin and Child with St Anne** with its densely unified composition. The complicated poses could only be achieved after many preliminary studies of drapery and anatomy. LEONARDO was a compulsive draughtsman

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[23] Basically, what makes this type of text into an expository narrative is the fact that it does not show action continuity in the same systematic way as narratives, such as e.g. (15) in 6.1.2.5. above, p. 106, or the fairy tales in 6.2.2., below. Yet it conforms to other crucial aspects of narration, such as the combination of the temporal and participant TSCs. In terms of the two-level typology outlined above, the narrative text type here realizes the expository type of discourse.

> whose thousands of drawings, together with notebooks, record his artistic experiments and scientific explorations.
>
> *In 1483*, LEONARDO offered his services to Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, as painter, sculptor, military engineer and architect. HE remained at the Milanese court until it fell to the French in 1499. For a projected equestrian monument to Francesco Sforza HE made a huge clay model of a riderless horse, and in Santa Maria della [*sic*] Grazie, Milan, HE painted in oil his famous **Last Supper** (about 1497), a work of psychological subtlety unprecedented at that date. HIS painting of the **Madonna of the Rocks,** of which two versions survive in London and Paris, shows a growing mastery of **sfumato,** of atmospheric blending and blurring of light and shade by which HE achieved in oil painting a new and subtle range of tonal values. *In 1517*, LEONARDO removed to France to the Château of Cloux, where HE continued until his death to investigate the nature of the world around him, respected both for his intellectual integrity and for his artistic genius. (Myers and Copplestone 1981:149)

On the other hand, some texts are multitype in the sense of including separate sub-texts, which in themselves might count as unitype or multitype texts. These sub-texts are more independent in character. Examples of more or less distinct sub-texts are an embedded narrative such as a parable in an instructive or argumentative sermon, or an embedded account of the contents of a book, in the form of a narrative, a description, etc., in an expository or argumentative book review (cf. (1) in 5.2.2. above, pp. 68-69), or else, embedded narratives and descriptions in a travel-guide article, often printed in petite (cf. (2) and (3) in 5.2.2. above, p. 70).

Like so many other aspects of human language, text-strategic continuities and text types are fuzzy rather than discrete categories. They do not usually appear in a pure form. Yet this does not mean that groupings would be superfluous in linguistic description. On the contrary, categories like these help to explain similarities and differences in texts. We would not be able to discuss blends of various kinds without first having established some kinds of prototypes, i.e. abstractions based on the study of texts. Because of such fuzziness, however, it may be difficult to determine where the boundary should go, first, between a text and a text fragment or a sub-text, second, between a unitype and a multitype text, and finally, between the different types of text. As so often in linguistic and literary description, the levels of abstraction and delicacy will determine what results we shall get. These levels should be set where they best help the investigator to reach her/his particular aims.

To conclude, it may be argued that text-strategic continuities as such do not form a one-to-one correlation with text types. Rather, within the frame of a text type, the text producer may make use of alternative text-strategic continuities with optional dominances and use them globally or vary them with often numerous possibilities of combinations, without the text type automatically changing. Some continuities may be more prototypical than others in a given text type, but there still seems to be a choice of dominances, and of explicit and implicit realizations of continuities.[24] As was pointed out in 5.2.3. above, *style* may be used as a term for variation within text type.

In this interpretation, both unitype and multitype texts may display cooccurring and combined continuities, unitype texts within their single text type and multitype texts both within the main type and within the embedded type(s). The boundary may seem particularly fuzzy between unitype texts consisting of global and local continuities, such as (22) and (23) above, and multitype texts in general, which contain embedded types of text and thus typically display discontinuing strategies, as we have seen above (cf. e.g. examples (1), (2), and (3) in 5.2.2. above, pp. 68-70). In other words, some degree of heterogeneity is here allowed for unitype texts. Texts are considered unitype as long as their global TSCs are fairly homogeneous and they contain no clear-cut sub-texts.

Figure 5 displays the relationship between cooccurrences and combinations of TSCs and text types, and Figure 6 focuses on the scope of these continuities within text types. What these two Figures show is that the horizontal continuum of cooccurring continuities and the vertical scale of their combinations (variation within these naturally included) may occur in both unitype and multitype texts, as a combination of continuities is understood to apply within one text type as well. As multitype texts obligatorily consist of at least one embedded text type, in them these scales have to be taken into account at least twice.

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[24] For a discussion of variation in the narrative type of text, see Björklund and Virtanen 1991.

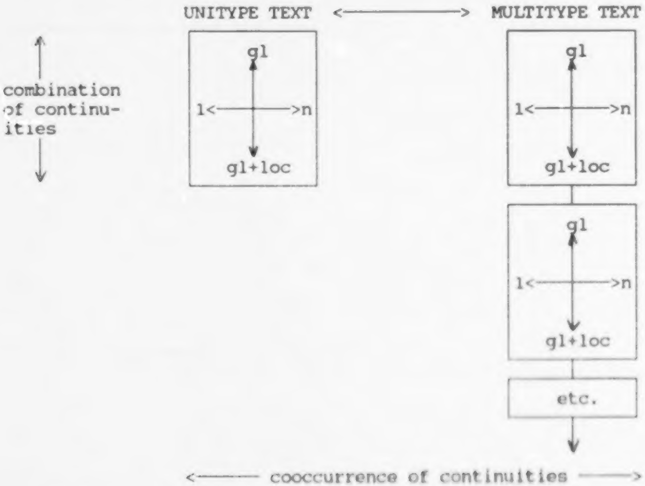
UNITYPE TEXT
MULTITYPE TEXT
combination of continuities
gl
1<
>n
gl+loc
gl
1<
>n
gl+loc
gl
1<
>n
gl+loc
etc.
cooccurrence of continuities

Figure 5. *Text-strategic continuities vs. text types* (gl = global, loc = local continuity).

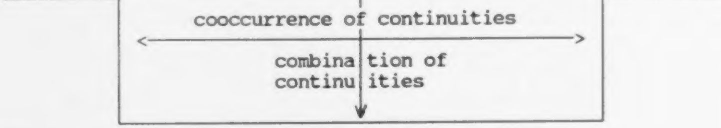
MULTITYPE TEXT
UNITYPE TEXT
frame type
embedded type
frame type
cooccurrence of continuities
combination of continuities

Figure 6. *Scope of continuities within text types.*

6.2. Two types of TSC: An in-depth analysis of data

The focus of the remainder of the present chapter is on initially positioned adverbials of time and place serving the temporal and spatial TSCs. These continuities may also have an influence on elements other than adverbials, such as NPs or the tense-aspect system of verbs. These will not, however, be dealt with in the present study, as the main purpose here is to establish discoursal and textual motivations for the placement of certain adverbials. Four sample texts will be analysed in their entirety in 6.2.2. and 6.2.3. These texts have been selected to illustrate the textual functions of initially-placed adverbials of time and place in two different types of text (see Chapter 3, and 5.3., above). The same samples will be further discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. In 6.2.3.3. a variant of the spatial TSC will be considered, and excerpts from further travel-guide texts will then be used for illustration. These and other texts presented in Chapter 3 will, however, not be analysed in full in the present study. As pointed out in that connection, the study is based on the analysis of a wide sample of different texts. It would be impracticable to cite all these texts and analyses in full; the four representative sample texts discussed in detail below have been selected for the purpose of illustration. Finally, Section 6.2.4. comments on the results of a small-scale paragraphing test. Native speakers' paragraph markings in the unparagraphed sample texts will then be compared to the segmentation of these texts in the preceding analysis. But to start the discussion, we need to consider units of text segmentation in some detail.

6.2.1. Units of text segmentation

It has been repeatedly pointed out above that the different TSCs have two parallel functions in the text. They create cohesion and coherence, and at the same time, they segment the text by marking textual boundaries of various kinds. More specifically, boundaries between different textual units may be signalled by shifts or breaks in one or several continuities. This will become evident in the following analysis. Before going on to the investigation of TSCs in the sample texts, however, a few words about textual units are in order.

One way of segmenting written text is to use traditional syntactic and typographical labels such as *clause*, *sentence*, *paragraph*, *chapter*, and so forth.[25] Another way is to use more text-oriented terms such as *text(ual) unit* or *discourse unit*. *Paragraph* is an unfortunate example of a traditional label that has been taken into new use as 'thematic paragraph' or 'conceptual paragraph' (cf. the use of *paragraph* in this sense in e.g. Longacre 1979; Hinds 1979:136). Linguists who speak of textual units in such typographical terms often take for granted the interpretation they give to these labels. As typographical paragraphs and thematic paragraphs need not coincide in a text it is worth keeping them apart also by referring to them by different names. For units of text and discourse, see e.g. Brown and Yule 1983:95ff.; Chafe 1979; 1987a; van Dijk 1982; Enkvist 1988:14-15; 1991b; Flashner 1987; Giora 1983; Givón 1983a:7-9; 1984:245; Grimes 1975:107-111; Hinds 1979; Lackstrom et al. 1973; Longacre 1979; Polanyi and Scha 1983.

In this study paragraphs are typographical units, and other labels have been given to textual units - a general designation for any unit in the text above the clause, and usually above the sentence. A hierarchy of textual units may often be discerned in a text, which is why we need a hierarchy of transparent terms to designate such units in different types of texts. My terminology goes as follows. The highest level of segmentation below *text* will be called the *section*-level. Sections may consist of *sub-sections*, *sub-sub-sections*, and so forth. In narratives, sections - with their potential sub-sections and sub-sub-sections - are further divided into *episodes*. Such textual units usually contain several typographical paragraphs - this thus always being the sense of *paragraph* here, as pointed out above. Episodes may be further divided into *moves* if necessary. Moves often extend over several syntactic clauses or sentences. In procedural place descriptions the categories are in principle the same, except for *episodes*. These are not used in this type of text. Instead, sections (and sub-sections) are divided into a hierarchy of major and minor *moves*, with intermediate levels where necessary.

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[25] For a discussion of sentences and clauses, see 1.1. above.

The above notions are used in a pretheoretical sense, to label a hierarchic set of textual units that may be applied to the analysis of various texts. Their status will be further specified below in terms of the actual framework used to segment the individual sample texts. Thus, it is clear that I use *episode* in a sense different from, for instance, Chafe 1979; van Dijk 1982; Flashner 1987; Grimes 1975; or Rumelhart 1975. Episodes are simply an intermediate category between moves and sections. Similarly, though *moves* develop the discourse in which they appear, the term does not correspond to the *moves* in the model of Sinclair and Coulthard 1975. To repeat, my purpose is to adopt a set of maximally transparent terms which reflect a hierarchy of text structure and which can be used to describe the structure in a number of different texts.

In what follows, the sample texts will first be analysed in terms of their overall hierarchic organization. As one of the types of texts studied for the present purposes is narrative, it is natural that models for the representation of discourse content and the taxonomy of textual units have been sought from story-grammars (for story-grammars, see e.g. Mandler and Johnson 1977; Rumelhart 1975; Thorndyke 1977; and de Beaugrande 1982 for a critical survey; cf. also e.g. Brown and Yule 1983:116-121; Johnson-Laird 1983:361-370). Such grammars have, however, been written in view of a different purpose, and they only cover the so-called "small stories". Therefore, it is impossible to use them as such for any real stories, however simple. Story-grammars will be to some extent dealt with below in connection with the analysis of the data: a very diluted synthesis of story-grammars seems the only way to use them in the simple sample narratives, and this obviously frustrates the intended formalism of such models. To give the reader an idea of story-grammars and their rewriting rules, let me very briefly present one of them. According to Rumelhart's (1975) story-grammar, a story may first be divided into a *setting* and an *episode*. The setting is then rewritten into a series of *states*, and the episode, again, into an *event* and a *reaction*. The event may further consist of, inter alia, an episode or two separate events, and the reaction, after a series of rewriting rules, may take the form of an *action* and a *consequence*.[26]

A very different type of analysis of narrative text, focusing on oral narratives, is presented in Labov and Waletzky 1967 and Labov 1977:354ff. This model, also referred to in sections 6.2.2.1. and 6.2.2.2. below, provides another basis for the analysis of the sample narratives. The texts may thus be segmented into a number of high-level units which are part of the overall structure of the narrative. For Labov and Waletzky, a complete narrative consists of an *abstract* (summarizing the whole story), an *orientation* (giving the necessary background information about the time, place, and participants concerned, and their situation or activities), a *complication* or *complicating action* (i.e. the main body of the narrative), an *evaluation* (indicating the point of the narrative), a *result* or *resolution* (concluding the narrative), and a *coda* (linking the narrative to the present time). In view of their definition of the minimal narrative, dealt with in 5.3.1. above (p. 76), only the presence of the complicating action is obligatory for a text to qualify as a narrative. The basic elements of orientation, complication, and resolution[27] operate on the level of text structure, while evaluation serves another, more fundamental function, i.e. it conveys the *raison d'être* of a narrative. Evaluative elements are thus typically found all over the text.[28] The model can be used recursively, to analyse global units of a narrative as sub-narratives. Similarly, story-grammars may be applied recursively to increasingly smaller sub-stories. Story-grammars do not presume a point in a story.

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[26] The syntactic and semantic interpretation rules according to Rumelhart 1975 are stated below for convenience. The first syntactic rule rewrites a story into a setting and an episode, and the semantic rule corresponding to it states that the setting has to make possible but not cause the episode (i.e. ALLOW). The semantic relationships should be transparent enough. The notation follows the general conventions of generative grammars. The symbol '|' separates mutually exclusive alternatives, and '*' indicates one or several occurrences of the particular unit. For further discussion of the model, see 6.2.2.1. and 6.2.2.2. below.

Story -> Setting + Episode => ALLOW (Setting, Episode)
Setting -> (States)* => AND (State, State...)
Episode -> Event + Reaction => INITIATE (Event, Reaction)
Event -> {Episode | Change-of-State | Action | Event + Event}
=> CAUSE (Event$_1$, Event$_2$) or ALLOW (Event$_1$, Event$_2$)
Reaction -> Internal Response + Overt Response
=> MOTIVATE (Internal Response, Overt Response)
Internal Response -> {Emotion | Desire}
Overt Response -> {Action | (Attempt)*}
=> THEN (Attempt$_1$, Attempt$_2$..)
Attempt -> Plan + Application => MOTIVATE (Plan, Application)
Application -> (Preaction)* + Action + Consequence
=> ALLOW (AND (Preaction, Preaction...), {CAUSE | INITIATE | ALLOW} (Action, Consequence))
Preaction -> Subgoal + (Attempt)*
=>MOTIVATE [Subgoal, THEN (Attempt...)]
Consequence -> {Reaction | Event}

[27] Cf. Aristotle's beginning, middle, and end in well-constructed plots (*Poetics*, 7; see Note 15 in 5.3.1. above, p. 76).

Next, procedural place descriptions are viewed as consisting of *moves* in the concrete sense of the text instructing the text receiver to move on to a new spot. This is where s/he will be able to see the next sight, which the text then gives information about. The extent of the particular move gives rise to a hierarchy of textual units consisting of major and minor moves, and a number of intermediate levels. Hence, it may be necessary for the tourist reading the GFM text on the spot to change position to contemplate another object in the same room, in another room, floor, building, and so forth. Here the hierarchy of the topic entity thus provides us with a model for text segmentation. The EDIN text, again, mostly contains moves from and to the main route which the text receiver is supposed to follow, and the resulting text segmentation thus becomes less hierarchic than that of the GFM text. On the basis of their content, these texts are also divided into higher-level units, which are labelled *sections* and *sub-sections*.

For the sake of clarity, the hierarchic structure of the texts will be represented in tree diagrams. An aspect such representations share with story-grammars is the fact that both are (the text receiver's) interpretations of the text. As is usual in the study of text, different people see things differently. Therefore, despite the use of multiple models and adverbial-independent criteria in the segmentation of the texts, it must be pointed out that the illustrative analyses below are the interpretations of one reader. What the text producer had in mind during the process of creating the text is a subject that the analyst may only present educated guesses on. All discussion of processes in text production is here based on the product, the text itself. Therefore, all attempts to trace the effects of the recursive processes of choosing in the text, to reconstruct the choices that were available to the text producer and the motivations that made her/him give one factor a greater weight than another at any particular stage in the text-producing process should be regarded as interpretations, rather than absolute claims. Keeping this in mind, we may now proceed to the analysis of the sample texts.

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[28] In terms of Longacre's parameter [±tension] (cf. 5.3.1. above, p. 78), climactic narratives may be expected to manifest a high degree of evaluation, or to focus the evaluation, just before or after the peak of the story (cf. Labov 1977:369ff.; Longacre 1983:20ff., Fleischman 1990:144ff.).

6.2.2. Temporal continuity and time adverbials

Temporal continuity was discussed in 6.1.2.1. above (pp. 91-98), in the light of narrative examples. It was noted that temporal sequentiality is a crucial element in narratives. It is also conspicuously present in instructions (see 6.1.2.5. for examples, pp. 108-110). At the same time, due to the linearity of linguistic expression, temporality - in the general sense of a succession in time - is also present in other types of text. It may then be interpreted as a logical succession, iconic of the temporal succession in narratives and procedural texts (cf. also the correspondence between time adverbials and some logical connectors such as *first, then, finally)*. In the following annual report, an apparent temporal continuity is followed. This may, however, be considered a blend between temporality and logical succession of discourse, and, in fact, though part of the same chain, strategy markers here vary from purely temporal ones, e.g. *in January*, to an enumerative one at the end of the chain: *in the final talk of the year*.

(24) CLARE HALL TALKS

There were four talks during the year. *In January* Terence Armstrong gave us an account of the extraordinary history of the "Bering's Expeditions" which, in the time of Peter the Great, resulted in the mapping of much of Russia's arctic coast and the discovery of its North-Eastern limit. *In March*, Barbara Knowles introduced us to the new generation of insecticides - no longer chemical, now biological, in a talk entitled "Biological Control: Using Bugs to Kill Bugs". She explained how it is possible to control insect populations using bacteria which are lethal to specific insects but are otherwise harmless. The applications can be both agricultural and medical and look very promising. Ian and Mary Falconer,

> visitors from Australia, gave us *in May* a remarkable account of a fortnight's arduous "Trekking in the Himalayas", through Gurung villages and across glaciers, amid breathtaking views, as far as Annapurna Sanctuary. *In the final talk of the year* Ariadne Staples offered us a sympathetic introduction to "Roman Religion", arguing that it was more than a tool of political control, and that it should be evaluated in its own terms and not according to Judaeo-Christian criteria. There is little evidence of religious ardour, but religion was to the Romans a practical matter inextricably bound up with everyday life, from statecraft to household business.
> *(Clare Hall Newsletter 1985-86*:23-24)

Temporal continuity is typically a dominant TSC in chronicles and other texts in which we are told what happened during a period of time. Temporality is an important part of the discourse topic of such texts. The text from which (25), below, is an excerpt manifests a temporal TSC as it deals with history. In addition to the chronological list of dates, the text is, however, also structured according to geographical areas, which form a secondary organizational pattern in the text. It is thus a dual-strategy text, consisting of a dominant global temporal TSC and a locative TSC.

(25)

ASIA	**EUROPE**	**AFRICA**	**NEW WORLD**
c.1603 Beginnings of Kabuki theatre, Japan	**1600** Foundation of English and Dutch (1602) East India Companies	**c.1600** Oyo Empire at height of power	
	1607 Monteverdi's *La Favola d'Orfeo* establishes opera as an art form		**1607** First permanent English settlement in America---
			1608 French colonists found Quebec
1609 Beginning of Tokugawa shogunate in Japan	**1609** Dutch Republic becomes independent **1609** Telescope invented (Holland) **c.1610** Scientific revolution in Europe begins:---		

(Parker 1986:12)

We have seen above that the narrative type of text is characterized by the temporal sequentiality of its main actions and events, and the temporal TSC is therefore typically exposed in such texts. The text receiver may follow the chronological order of the actions and events without explicit markers if the text conforms to experiential iconicity. Signals of the temporal TSC are needed when the text-time deviates from the story-time. But such signals may also appear elsewhere, since they have an important text-structuring function.

In the following two sections, a detailed analysis of two narratives will be undertaken. The two fairy tales, a retold version of the *Three Bears* (*BEARS* for short) and a longer modern fairy tale called "The cats who stayed for dinner" (*CATS* for short), have been introduced in Chapter 3 (see also 5.3.1. above, p. 75ff.). The texts are given in full in Appendix 1. The focus of the analysis will be on the behaviour of time adverbials in marking a temporal TSC. Attention will, however, also be paid to other markers of shifts and breaks in the text, in particular to those of a participant continuity. In this way, it will be possible to trace the delicate interplay of these two main strategies of narrative in the text.

6.2.2.1. BEARS

The *Three Bears* displays temporal, participant, and action continuities in various combinations. The participants of the story are the set of *three bears* and *Goldilocks*, and they intermingle in various ways. The text is basically unitype (a narrative), and it consists of multiple strategies. Some of its TSCs work globally, others locally, so that the number of cooccurring strategies varies along the way.

In what follows, the text will first be segmented along the lines described in 6.2.1., above. Signals of its TSCs will then be considered in the light of this segmentation. Finally, in 6.2.4.1. below (p. 227ff.), readers' paragraphing of the text will be compared to the text segmentation made here.

In 6.2.1., above, it was pointed out that the segmentation of the sample texts is not based on paragraphs. Other typographical clues, however, are available for the segmentation of the BEARS text. Hence, each page of the book may be interpreted as consisting of one single textual unit, which I shall refer to as *episode*. The adjacent page always contains an illustration of that episode (cf. also the use of non-linguistic visual material in the study of episode boundaries in Bamberg and Marchman 1990; Tomlin 1987). Each episode contains at least one short typographical paragraph (see App. 1). When a more delicate segmentation is needed, a story-grammar analysis and/or a Labovian analysis is applied to the episode. Similarly, these models will be used as a basis for grouping episodes together to form the higher-level units of *section* and *sub-section*.

To start from the overall structure of the text, we have seen above that stories may be divided into several parts, such as the *abstract*, *orientation*, *complication*, *evaluation*, *resolution*, and *coda* distinguished in Labov 1977:362ff., and Labov and Waletzky 1967:32ff. In those terms, then, BEARS would have an orientation (i.e. the background description in episodes 1 and 2), a complication (from episode 3 onwards), and a resolution telling us what finally happened (episodes 13 and 14, roughly). Evaluation surfaces at several points in the narrative. The last clause of the story might perhaps be interpreted as a coda, connecting the end of the narrative back to the pre-Goldilocks situation at the beginning of the story.

Other ways of dealing with the structure of stories are proposed in the numerous versions of story-grammars, see e.g. Rumelhart 1975, and de Beaugrande 1982 for a critical survey. These, too, were briefly mentioned in 6.2.1. above (see esp. Note 26 on p. 132; cf. also the discussion in 6.2.2.2. below, and in particular, Note 40 on p. 154). In Rumelhart's terms, for instance, my episodes 1 and 2 would be the *setting*, and the rest of the text the Rumelhartian *episode*. The setting consists here of a series of *states*, and the Rumelhartian episode of a macro-level *event* (3-9) and a macro-level *reaction* (10-14). Within the event part, four different story-grammar *episodes* take place, i.e. 3, 4, 5-7, and 8-9.[29] These episodes may again be divided into *events* and *reactions*, and further rewritten according to the sub-rules of the model. The second macro-level notion, the reaction, may be recursively rewritten into e.g. the often inferrable *internal response* and *overt response* (cf. 10-12). These, finally, yield the *consequence* (13-14). Several of the categories may be rewritten into a more detailed form.

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[29] In Fox's (1987a:167-168) terms, my episode 3 would be an *initiating event*, and 4 - 9 the *development*. Fox uses Rumelhart's story-grammar to analyse authentic texts. Whenever the categories in her applied story-grammar model seem suggestive I shall also refer to them. In this view, a story basically consists of (1) *background information* (e.g. *setting*), (2) an *initiating event*, (3) a *development*, comprising a *reaction*, a *plan*, and an *action*, (4) an *outcome*. Cf. also 6.2.2.2., below.

A synthesis of these models may now be represented in the form of a tree diagram. Owing to my eclectic use of different models, I wish to homogenize the terminology as outlined in 6.2.1. above (p. 130). In the present study, *episodes* thus refer to units of text intermediate between *sections* and *moves* in the hierarchy of text structure. Whenever the term needs to be used in another sense, such as the *episode* in Rumelhart's story-grammar, this will be specifically indicated. When episodes are further joined to represent higher entities of text segmenting I shall refer to them as *sections*, divisible into several layers of *sub-sections*. This simplified version of the text segmentation is presented as Fig. 7, below. For the convenience of the reader, the four sections of the story are labelled according to the participants present in them. To repeat: section 1 thus consists of the *orientation* or *setting*, section 2 of the *event*, section 3 of the *reaction*, and section 4 of the *resolution* or *consequence*. Sections 2 and 3 together form the *complication*. Of primary interest here are the boundaries between the different episodes, sub-(sub-)sections, and sections. Fig. 7 does not display episode-internal units, i.e. *moves*.

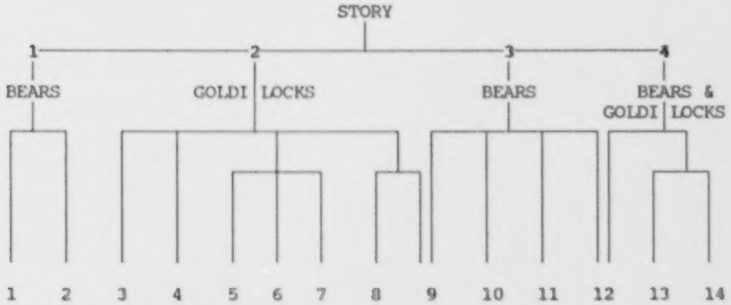

Figure 7. ***Text segmentation of the BEARS text.*** **The numbers at the top indicate sections, and the bottom-line numbers refer to episodes.**

Once the story has been segmented into a hierarchy of textual units, a look at the boundaries between such units is in order. The following discussion starts from the four main sections, to gradually proceed to the hierarchically lower boundaries in the text.

Interestingly, after the traditional opening of *once upon a time* - a text-type marker - two of the three major shifts in the story line are signalled by sentence-initial time adverbials. At the beginning of episode 3, we have *One morning while the bears were out walking, a little girl called Goldilocks came to their house. One morning* thus marks the beginning of the actual narrative and the introduction of Goldilocks into the story. This causes a break in participant continuity. The backgrounding of the three bears, the participants of the beginning of the story, is achieved with the help of the initial adverbial clause *while the bears were out walking* (for grounding, see 5.3.1. above, p. 77, and 6.1.2.1., pp. 97-98, and 6.1.2.5. p. 106; cf. also 8.1. below). This adverbial clause serves to link section 2 to the description in section 1, in particular to its episode 2 (cf. also the discussion in Chafe 1984; Thompson 1987; Thompson and Longacre 1985; Wårvik 1992:264-269). The habitual line of events and the state of things presented in the first two episodes (*once upon a time--*; *every morning---*) is broken by an incident that takes place *one morning*, and that is the starting point of an implicit 'then' narrative.

The second major shift in the story line occurs when the three bears return from their walk. Participant continuity is again broken (the three bears now being reactivated as participants). This shift is marked by the sentence-initial *just then*, meaning 'just at that point in time', at the beginning of the second paragraph of episode 9 (one sentence only). The adverbial *just then* brings the temporal sequentiality of the preceding narration to a stop, to overlap with the starting point of the narrative of the bears' return.

(26) --- As soon as Goldilocks climbed in she fell fast asleep.
Just then the bears came home, very hungry after their walk. (BEARS:9)[30]

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[30] The number in the reference indicates *episode*, in my use of the term. See Appendix 1.

The shift is placed at the very end of episode 9, rather than at the beginning of episode 10, no doubt in order to create suspense into the story. Similarly, the meeting of the three bears with Goldilocks is placed at the very end of episode 12 instead of the beginning of episode 13: ---'*and she's still there!*' This type of a strategy may be called an *anticipated shift*.[31] In these instances, the actual shifts at the beginning of episodes 10 and 13, respectively, are also marked, as will be seen presently. The anticipated shift thus serves to reinforce the signalling of the textual boundary.

In the light of Longacre's parameter [±tension], the anticipated shift at the end of episode 9 marks the boundary between the pre-peak episodes and the peak in the story line (cf. 5.3.1. above, p. 78; see Longacre 1983:22). The peak goes on from episode 10 to 12, and it is followed by the post-peak episodes 13 and 14. The peak typically differs in structure from both the pre-peak and the post-peak episodes. As adverbials of time play a crucial part in the global text structuring of this story, it is thus predictable that they are absent from the peak episodes. In this story, the climax is realized through the use of direct speech to heighten the vividness, together with the repetitive use of the specific tripartite structure in the three peak episodes to change the pace in the narration.[32] The present tense in the final clause of episode 12 emphasizes the climax. This is the introduction to the third major shift, and to the dénouement of the story.

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[31] Cf. also the discussion of *prolonged shifts* in 6.2.2.2., below.

[32] The traditional use of number three (cf. e.g. Olrik 1908:81) is conspicuously present in this story, cf. e.g. the three bears, the three actions Goldilocks takes in the pre-peak episodes and the three phases each of the actions consists of. In the CATS story the number three is also visible, for instance, in the development of the story from section three onwards (cf. 6.2.2.2.).

The second point to be noted here is the use of direct speech. Direct speech has been left unanalysed in the present study because of its own specific rules and principles (cf. 5.3. above, p. 74). Its potential function as a marker of a textual shift has, however, been taken into account. Shift marking through direct speech seems to be connected with its being positioned initially in the sentence, and in particular, in the paragraph. See also 6.2.2.2., below.

For a discussion of the role of direct speech in grounding, see Chvany 1985:8; 1986:265; cf. also Björklund, fc.

The third major shift again involves a break in participant continuity, as the last section of the text includes both Goldilocks and the bears. The shift is introduced with the help of a comparative construction highlighting the end of the sentence: *The little, small, wee voice was so shrill that* ***Goldilocks woke up at once***.[33] The last clause of the text connects the changed state-of-things of the bears back to the first two pre-Goldilocks episodes, and might therefore be interpreted as a *coda*. *Never again* may be regarded as an end marker:[34]

(27) ---and the three bears never saw her again. (BEARS:14)

Furthermore, if we take a look at the various episodes, we may notice other occurrences of sentence-initial time adverbials denoting the sequentiality of the actions and events of the story. Hence, in episode 3, we have *first* and *then*, which might be followed by a series of implicit 'then's. Similarly later, *first* and *then* appear in episodes 5 and 6. Here, a gradual change of pace takes place, as the story proceeds towards its peak. Goldilocks's actions are drawn out, with the effect of growing suspense in the pre-peak episodes.

Owing to the principle of experiential iconicity, which makes the text receiver expect a natural chronological order in narrative discourse, the explicit *then* denoting 'after that' is by definition redundant in a temporally iconic text. Therefore, when it does appear at a boundary between two temporally sequential, adjacent actions or events, apparently redundantly, it must serve other important functions in the text and discourse. Motivations for explicit temporal markers in temporally iconic texts may be

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[33] Cf. also the beginning of the second sub-section of the Goldilocks section (episode 4): *The bears' breakfast smelled so good that* ***Goldilocks suddenly felt hungry***. From a story-grammatical perspective, these are crucial shifts in the story. In Fox's (1987a:168) terms, episode 4 is the beginning of the *development* part, after the *initiating event* in episode 3, and episode 13 is the beginning of the *outcome* part (cf. Rumelhart's *consequence)*. Therefore, it is only natural for these boundaries to be marked with a signal that differs from the ones used within textual units or at other textual boundaries.

[34] Typical end markers in fairy tales include *never again*, *all over again*, *ever after(wards)*, cf. e.g.

(1) Yes, there he was, not lost at all, just as full of cotton wool and nonsense as ever - waiting to be found so he could hurry up and get lost all over again! (Jackson 1960:18)

(2) ---And he was never alone again. (Ireson 1966:23)

(3) ---So the three billy goats Gruff lived on the green mountainside happily ever after. (Boase 1983)

found if we take a look at how the text is united and segmented along the lines of the TSC of time. Hence, episode 3, where the narrative proper starts, contains explicit signals of the temporal TSC to emphasize the sequentiality of the actions and to establish the strategy. And in the sub-section consisting of episodes 5-7 the explicit temporal markers contribute to the creation of tension in the text, as indicated above. *Then* is typically the signal of a minor boundary (cf. Virtanen 1992c:194). But minor boundaries may become more prominent if the pace of narration is slowed down and the moves or episodes drawn out. For a discussion of temporal sequentiality and grounding distinctions in narrative, and of the function of adverbials as markers of such distinctions, see e.g. Wårvik 1987; cf. also 8.1. below.

Many oral narratives, and in particular stories told by children, exhibit an excess of *then*'s. Nearly every new action or event may then begin with this explicit signal of temporal sequentiality, and these markers form a TSC together with other adverbials of time and conjunctions such as *and* or *so* (cf. e.g. the use of *and*, *then*, and *so* in the oral narratives presented in Labov and Waletzky 1967; cf. also the data, originating from various languages, presented in Bamberg and Marchman 1990; Berman 1990; Chafe 1979; Lefevbre 1988; see also the discussion in Wårvik 1990c:538-539).[35] Labov (1977:376) reserves the initial slot of the narrative clause for conjunctions (e.g. *so*, *and*, *but)* and temporals such as *then* or *when*-clauses, and another, clause-final slot for the rest of the temporal adverbials, which then typically function within the verb phrase. Berman (1990) shows how the use of *and* in narrative gradually develops as children grow older, to signal the 'then' relation between sequential actions and events. This development is accompanied with an increasing use of lexically weightier markers, such as *then*, *afterwards*, or *suddenly*, alone or together with the initial *and*, which finally, in adult narratives, give way to implicit 'then' boundaries and more complex devices for the signalling of the global structure of the text. Wårvik (1990b; 1990c) regards spoken *then* narratives as a stylistic option which has survived from older, more oral stages of the language.

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[35] In fact, other types of oral discourse also seem to make frequent use of *then*'s. This might be interpreted as a reflection of the primary status that narrative may be hypothezised to hold among text types (cf. Virtanen 1992b).

To return to the BEARS text, other explicit manifestations of local temporal continuities include two sentence-initial adverbial clauses, viz. *as soon as Goldilocks climbed in* in episode 9, and *when she saw the three bears* in episode 13. These conform to the chronological order of the event-time within their sentence and in the text. In these episodes the gaps between the successive actions or events are minimal, and the realization of one of these in the form of an adverbial clause further emphasizes the near-simultaneity between the action or event depicted in the adverbial clause and that of the subsequent main clause. Such matching of two adjacent actions or events with syntactic adjacency may be regarded as an instance of structural iconicity, in the sense of Givón 1985. At the same time, the event depicted in the main clause is given end-weight in the sentence, and more importantly, in the episode: these main clauses contain the outcome of a sub-sub-story. Textualizing the series of events in the form of a succession of main clauses, tied together by implicit or explicit *then*'s, would not have these additional effects on the discourse. As a whole, these adverbial clauses may be interpreted as an explicit manifestation of a local temporal continuity, the rest of which consists of implicit 'then's. For a discussion of discourse functions of sentence-initial adverbial clauses, see also Chafe 1984; Fleischman 1990:171; Haiman 1978; Ramsey 1987; Thompson 1985; 1987; Thompson and Longacre 1985; Wårvik 1987; 1992:264-269.

In my interpretation, the clause-initial or sentence-initial adverbials of time in a text governed by a temporal TSC may have different forms and yet serve the function of signalling that continuity. In addition to the basic, temporally iconic, and hence implicit 'then' link between successive events and actions, such adverbials may obviously convey a number of temporal meanings. Placed initially, adverbials may also easily assume a number of other functions in the text and discourse, such as the signalling of grounding distinctions or point of view. We have seen that adverbial clauses may, as a whole, serve as a clue to the temporal TSC. But adverbial clauses contain more lexical material than shorter adverbials, and such lexical elements may also independently add to the cohesion and coherence of the text.

Some of the time adverbials occur non-initially in the clause. Of particular interest are the medial *suddenly* in episode 4 (cf. Note 33 on p.

141 above) - a blend of 'time' and 'manner' - and the clause-final *at once* in episode 13. They function within the *that*-clause they appear in, and they have a close connection with the verb of their clause. They express a specification of the event indicated in the clause in which they appear (for *specification* and *setting*, see Firbas 1986:48ff.; cf. also 7.2.2., below). *At once* is commentized[36] in a section-initial sentence. It gets the maximal end-weight to emphasize the immediate effect of the incident told at the end of episode 12 and echoed in the main clause at the outset of episode 13 (cf. also its function in reintroducing the explicit temporal TSC, below). In both of these instances, the iconic order of cause and effect is maintained in the ordering of the clauses.

As we have seen above, both *suddenly* and *at once* occur in the highlighted part of a comparative construction. In the two sample texts, such constructions appear at the outset of textual units. If a text-strategic time adverbial in a temporally steered text occurs at such a shift, it may be placed either at the beginning of the sentence or in the highlighted part of the construction. Initial placement seems to be favoured when the adverbial expresses the setting of the entire sentence and belongs to an explicit chain of text-strategic items (cf. App. 1, episode 18 in CATS, for the sentence-initial *on Friday*, which has the whole sentence in its scope; see also 6.2.2.2., below). As the adverbials discussed here, however, function within the *that*-clause, and not within the main clause, they may not appear sentence-initially without a change of meaning.[37]

At the same time, the medial *suddenly* is initial enough in its clause to convey the shift in the temporal TSC that marks the beginning of a new sub-section and episode in the text. The beginning of the sentence contains elements that link the new episode back to the first section of the text, to remind the text receiver of the description of the bears' habits and their present walk. This way of signalling the shift therefore also has a softening effect, making the boundary less abrupt than one marked with an initial adverbial of time.

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[36] Cf. Note 21 in 6.1.5.1. above, p. 124.

[37] In terms of the syntactic classification of adverbials in 2.4. above (p. 22ff.), the three adverbials discussed here may be viewed in terms of the scale of membership within a level. The two adverbials occurring in a comparative construction in BEARS, and *on Friday* in a similar construction in episode 18 of CATS, may all be categorized as V^2 adverbials. *At once* is most closely connected to its verb and thus nearest the boundary between V^2 adverbials and those of V^1. *Suddenly* is somewhere in the middle, and *on Friday* closest to the boundary between V^2 and V^3 adverbials even before its raising under the TOP-node. Further, the first two may only be topicalized within their clause; a sentence-initial position would make the meaning of the sentence different or weird. *On Friday*, on the contrary, functions in the main clause, and the change of scope that its topicalization involves only brings it a step closer to V^3 adverbials. For verbal ties of adverbials, see also 6.3.2., below.

As an introduction to the post-peak episodes, the first sentence in episode 13 reintroduces the temporal TSC (*at once - when she saw the three bears* - 'then' - 'then'), absent from the preceding peak episodes. This is one of the ways in which the peak episodes are marked off from the pre-peak and the post-peak episodes, as noted above. The temporal TSC, of course, prevails through the entire story but other devices are used explicitly in the peak episodes to mark shifts between textual units. Finally, all the other types of adverbials in this story, expectedly, appear at the end of the clause.

We may thus conclude that the story reveals a temporal TSC. This continuity is manifested through the clause-initial and sentence-initial adverbials of time, which operate at least on two different levels. First, there are adverbials of time that function within the global temporal chain. This chain starts after the initial description of the bears' habitual lifestyle. Alternatively, the story-initial *once upon a time* and the end marker *never again* might also be included in the main chain of temporal adverbials. Secondly, there are local temporal chains of the type *first - then* - 'then'. Accordingly, we might represent the temporal TSC of the story as in Figure 8, below.

Figure 8 also displays participant continuity in the story. This continuity is temporarily broken so that the two sets of participants alternate in the text, forming continuity by turns. All of the participants are included in the final episodes 13 and 14.

In Figure 7, showing text segmentation (on p. 138 above), several hierarchic layers were distinguished in terms of sections, sub-sections, and episodes. Conversely, Fig. 8 only contains two levels of chains, the global left-hand one and several successive local ones in the right-hand column. The right-hand column thus consists of adverbials that mark textual shifts on different hierarchic levels. In case of the inclusion of several levels here, adverbials at the beginning of episodes 2 and 4 (*every morning* and *suddenly)* should belong to a higher level than the rest of the adverbials listed in the right-hand column.

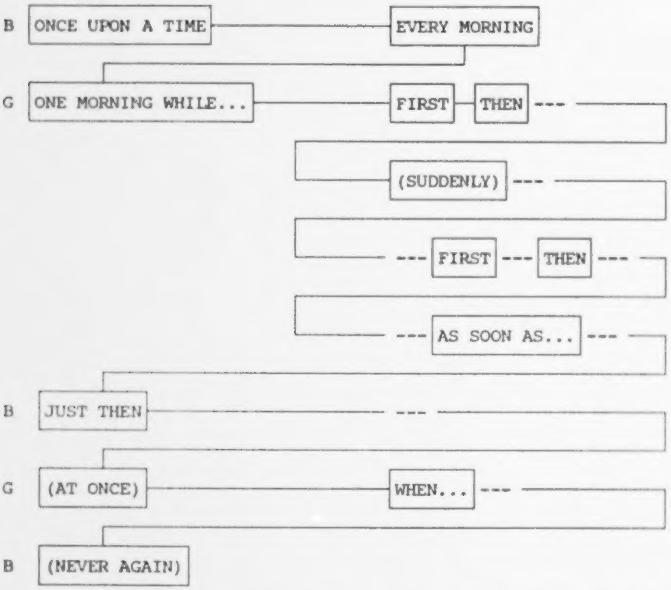

Figure 8. ***Time adverbials and breaks in participant continuity in the BEARS text.*** **Parentheses indicate a non-initial adverbial, and '---' denotes implicit temporal continuity. The left-hand column shows the global temporal chain, and the right-hand one, local temporal chains within the main chain. As to participants,** ***B*** **refers to 'the bears', while** ***G*** **is 'Goldilocks'.**

As the story involves two separate participants, Goldilocks and the team of the three bears, there are both breaks and shifts in participant continuity. The temporal TSC is global and iconic, and it may, therefore, remain implicit and surface only from time to time, in connection with shift marking. Breaks in participant continuity typically appear at boundaries between major textual units, and they are obviously marked with full NPs (cf. Fig. 8 above). Such breaks may also involve a shift or a break in action continuity, in the sense of a boundary between local macro-actions or sub-actions (cf. 6.1.2.5. above, pp. 110-111). Hence, for instance, section two (episodes 3-9) might be conceived of in terms of the local macro-action of Goldilocks settling in the house of the three bears. Further, within such a macro-action, various hierarchies and series of sub-actions may be seen to take place (thus, for instance, episode 3 might be interpreted as the micro-action of Goldilocks going into the house, consisting in turn of a series of sub-actions, in the sense of her arriving, looking through the window, peeping through the keyhole, calling, opening the door, and going in).

As for participant continuity, the variation between full NPs, pronominal forms, and zero anaphora is interesting in view of shift marking within the continuous notion of a participant or a group of participants, as pointed out in 6.1.2.3. above (p. 101ff.). Textual shifts may be signalled within the scope of a participant continuity through the use of a full NP reference to the continuous participant, instead of a pronominal one. Such a signal may cooccur with a temporal marker. Generally speaking, major boundaries tend to display a cluster of explicit markers, while just one signal may be enough to indicate a minor shift, due to inheritance from a higher level. For the tendency of several different continuities to break or shift at major, rather than minor, boundaries in a text, see Givón 1984:245 (see 6.1.1.1. above, p. 90). For the tendency of more material being assigned to the more discontinuous or inaccessible topics/participants, and less material to the more continuous or accessible topics/participants, see the *scale of phonological size* in Givón 1983a:18. Cf. also the discussion in 7.3.3. below, and in Virtanen 1992a.

Consider the following example displaying participant continuity at the beginning of section two. As the focus in this study is on adverbial markers, the explanations given in parentheses must here suffice to give an idea of the interplay of participant continuity and temporal continuity in marking textual shifts in a narrative.

(28) [3]**One morning while** ***the bears*** (full reference; shift at section boundary) **were out walking**, *a little girl called Goldilocks* (full reference; break in participant continuity) came to *their* (pronominal reference enough; no shifts or breaks; no ambiguity) house. **First** *she* (pronominal reference enough; cf. the temporal shift marker; no break in participant continuity as the preceding *their* is

> not in agent-function[38]) looked through the window. **Then** *she* (cf. the explanations in the previous sentence) looked through the keyhole.
>
> 'Is anyone home?' *she* (pronominal reference enough; cf. direct speech as move marker) called.
>
> There was no reply. *Goldilocks* (full reference; shift in participant continuity marks the move) opened the door and (zero anaphora; implicit 'then' enough for move marking between these two temporally adjacent events) went in.
>
> [4]*The bears'* (full reference; sub-section boundary; distance to the preceding reference; break in participant continuity after the Goldilocks-oriented passage; cf. Note 38) breakfast smelled so good that *Goldilocks* (full reference though there is no break in participant continuity here as the bears have not been active in between; shift in participant continuity because of the sub-section boundary; cf. Note 38) **suddenly** felt hungry. *She* (pronominal reference; implicit temporal continuity enough to mark the move) tasted--- (BEARS:3-4)

The major boundaries, the beginning of section two (episode 3), and within it, the beginning of sub-section two (episode 4), are signalled by several markers. Moves, on the other hand, need not contain explicit signals other than the new verb indicating the sub-action. They may, however, be marked with temporal signals, sentence-initial direct speech, or a full NP reference to the continuous participant, as shown in episode 3 above. What is interesting here is the interplay of the different cooccurring TSCs in marking textual shifts in this type of text.

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[38] See Fox 1987a:162, 170. Fox (1987a:162) observes the following basic pattern of anaphora in written English narratives: "---a referent is pronominalizable until another character's goals and actions are introduced, unless those goals and actions are interactive with the first character's, that is, unless in the immediately projected text there is some confrontation or active interaction between the two characters. In other words, if another character begins planning and performing an action, and there is no immediately projected interaction between the two characters, then a subsequent mention of the first character will be done with a full NP".

Interestingly, Fox (1987a:170) further states that on top of the basic patterns "there tends to be an association between the beginning of a narrative unit (typically the first slot of a development structure) and the use of a full NP". As pointed out above, she uses a modified version of Rumelhart's story-grammar as a model for the structural organization of the narrative. The present study shows that what she suggests for major boundaries in story-grammatical terms is, in fact, valid for the marking of textual boundaries in general. The interplay of the different markers of textual shifts, such as it appears for instance in the two sample narratives investigated here, helps the text receiver to discern in the text the hierarchy of its various segments. See also discussion in 6.2.2.2., below, esp. Note 45 on p. 160.

The above example and other narratives investigated for the present purposes show a tendency of minor textual boundaries to inherit aspects of TSCs from the preceding higher-level boundaries. Thus sub-section boundaries at the beginning of episodes 5, 8, 11, and 12, and sub-sub-section boundaries at the beginning of episodes 7, 9, and 14 are signalled with the help of a single marker. The marker may be a full NP reference to a continuous participant (as in episodes 5, 8, 9, and 14) or sentence-initial and paragraph-initial direct speech (as in episode 7). In episodes 2, 11, and 12 the full NP reference is to be expected after the individualization of the set of bears in the preceding episodes.

The beginning of episode 6 is, however, marked both with the help of a sentence-initial adverbial of time and a full NP reference to the continuous participant. Above, this instance was related to tension in narration (cf. p. 141). The temporal marker emphasizes the different phases of this micro-action (episodes 5-7), as the pace of narration is here slowed down to gradually lead to the peak section of the story. Other shifts of interest from this perspective are the sub-section boundaries at the beginning of episode 2, and in particular, episode 4. Episode two starts with two markers, an adverbial of frequency and a full NP reference to the bears. As pointed out above, full reference may here be expected after the individualization of the bears in the preceding episode. The episode-initial adverbial signals the shift from the initial descriptive episode of the bears to a description of their habitual activities.[39]

The beginning of episode 4 is interesting because it contains several markers of textual boundary: the special comparative construction discussed above, full NP references to all participants, and also, a temporal marker - medially positioned but dramatic enough in the highlighted part of the sentence, after the cluster of the other important clues (cf. episode 13, a section boundary). The multiple marking of this boundary seems to be connected with its being the starting point of the development part in section two. In such an interpretation, episode 3 contains the initiating event, cf. Notes 29 and 38 above, pp. 137 and 148.

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[39] The difference between the placement of the adverbial clause in episode 2 (*while their porridge cooled)* and that of the *while*-clause at the beginning of episode 3 is essentially a textual issue. As pointed out above, the position of the clause in episode 3 has the function of backgrounding the participants of the preceding section. It repeats some of the information in the preceding episode, thus linking the new episode to what has been said before (for information dynamics, see Ch. 7). The two adverbials together form the setting of the event reported in the sentence-final main clause. Episode 2, on the contrary, needs only one shift marker, and this function is fulfilled by the initial adverbial of frequency. In Firbas's (1986:48ff.) terms, the adverbial clause forms a temporal specification for the event reported in the preceding main clause (see 7.2.2. below; cf. also Chafe 1984). Different cognitive principles contribute to the ordering of the two clauses in these sentences. See also 8.1.

Episode 4 leads us to the other side of the inheritance tendency, in the sense of the major textual boundaries demanding more marking than the minor ones. In BEARS, all new sections are explicitly signalled with several different devices. At the beginning of the first section (episode 1), a text-type marker appears, together with - predictably - a full reference to the first participants of the story (cf. the title, *Three Bears).* Section two (episode 3) starts with two temporal markers, discussed above. In addition to these, full reference is again made to the bears even though these are continuous with the preceding episode. Further, a full NP is obviously needed when a new participant is introduced into the story. *Goldilocks* is not mentioned in the title of the text. Section three (episode 10) begins with sentence-initial direct speech. Full reference is here needed because of the individualization of the big bear. A full NP might, however, be expected even if reference were made to the three bears (e.g. in the form of *The three bears went into their dining room/kitchen)* because of the section boundary. This boundary is anticipated at the end of the preceding episode, as pointed out above (cf. the temporal marker *just then*), and full reference is needed at that point because of the break in participant continuity. Finaily, section four starts with the comparative construction highlighting the break in participant continuity (naturally signalled by a full reference) and commentizing the temporal adverbial *at once*.

Full NP references within episodes mav have the textual function of marking new moves, in the same way as the local temporal markers discussed above (cf. e.g. *first*, *then*, in episode 3). Moves are not included in Fig. 7 but let me briefly consider such episode-internal shifts. The individualization of the team of the three bears and references to the whole set after such individualization explains the full NP references within episodes 1, 10, 11, 12, and 13. Within episodes 9 and 14, full reference to the three bears is needed because of the preceding break in participant continuity. Goldilocks has here assumed the active role of the agent, and thus broken the continuity of the group of bears. Interesting instances may be found within episodes 3, 4, 7, and 9. The last sentence of the first paragraph in episode 9 and the last sentences in the other episodes contain a full NP reference to a continuous participant. This is so because, in terms of the micro-level action continuity, these sentences include the crucial part of the micro-story, the outcome. Already before the full NP reference in the sentence, the outcome move is also marked with initial direct speech in episode 4, and with a contrastive conjunction in episode 7. Finally, in episode 9 the full reference itself appears in the sentence-initial temporal clause. Cf. also the discussion, above, of the local temporal markers or chains of markers.

In this section, the basic interplay of markers of temporal and participant continuities in signalling the hierarchy of textual shifts in a narrative has been investigated. We have seen the important function that the initial placement of temporal adverbials at crucial points of the story may have. We have also seen that such adverbials are placed non-initially when they are not needed to indicate a textual shift, on the grounds of, for instance, another marker already performing this function. Other types of adverbials typically appear non-initially in this type of text, as they do not signal a TSC. Further, it has been pointed out that the peak of a story usually differs in structure from the rest of the text. In BEARS the temporal continuity becomes totally implicit in the peak episodes, which are, instead, signalled by other devices, such as the use of sentence-initial direct speech to heighten the vividness of the narration.

Finally, the inheritance of aspects of TSCs that minor shifts tend to gain from a higher level was said to account for the tendency of fewer markers to appear at lower-level shifts and clusters of markers to occur at the more macro-level boundaries. Moreover, to reinforce a major textual shift, anticipated shifts were found to appear in the immediately preceding context of a major boundary. Cognitively, it may be hypothesized that the appearance of lexically weighty signals and clusters of markers at major boundaries allow the text receiver to drop from her/his working memory many of the aspects that have been kept activated over minor boundaries (cf. e.g. Stark 1988:301). Contrary to the content, signals of text structure need not enter the longer-term memory systems (cf. e.g. Chafe 1987b).

Givón's (1983a:18) scale of phonological size may be used to account for the variation between a full NP, a pronoun, or a zero anaphora to refer to a continuous participant: a textual boundary makes a continuous participant less accessible, which is why more coding material may be necessary (see p. 147 above; cf. also e.g. Flashner 1987; Fox 1987a). Markers of major boundaries tend to be larger in number and/or size than those of minor boundaries. In Givón's (1983a; 1984; 1985) terms, this makes the text structurally iconic: the size of the materials indicating textual shifts then reflects the size of the boundaries, thus contributing to the signalling of the hierarchy of text structure.

Similarly, signals of a temporal TSC may be arranged on a scale of phonological size: compare, for instance, the temporal markers *one morning while the bears were out walking*, *then*, and the implicit 'then', reflecting a hierarchy of textual shifts. Interestingly, Thompson and Longacre (1985:228) outline a scale from a full lexical adverbial clause via abbreviated clause to a particle or conjunct, such as *then*. Their concern is with the reduction of the sentence-initial recapitulative adverbial clause to a particle but the scale might also be viewed in terms of structural iconicity. The particle *then*, as we have seen, may be left implicit in a temporally iconic text. Basically, however, adverbial clauses will have to be considered as a whole, as one signal, when their status as markers of textual boundaries is examined. Even though they contain a lot of lexical material, they are not in themselves more important as signals of textual shifts than other lexically weighty, non-clausal adverbials. For a discussion of the information status of adverbial clauses, see Chapter 7 below, esp. 7.3.2.2.3., pp. 286-288.

In this story the signals of the text-strategic continuities were seen to correlate with narratological patterns as presented in different models in the literature. More importantly, it was seen that sentence-level phenomena, such as the placement of adverbials or the variation between full NP references, pronominalization, and zero anaphora in expressing a continuous participant, cannot be accounted for without consideration of the entire text, the type of the text, and the total strategy of the text. Let us now proceed to the second sample narrative. It is a longer and more complicated text, and thus offers the more challenging task of exploring in it the tendencies found in the BEARS story.

6.2.2.2. CATS

CATS (Appendix 1) is a children's story twice as long as BEARS. It includes more interplay of narration and description than the previous story. It also has a more complicated text-structuring mechanism. The basic structure is, however, similar to that of BEARS, or perhaps narratives in general. There is a global temporal text-strategic continuity, and the story is built on two sets of participants, which form participant continuity by turns. The two sets of participants of the story are *a man and a woman*, who move to a new house, and the numerous *cats* that live in the garden of that house. Further, as in BEARS, there is a unity of setting in the Grimesian sense, or a unity of place in the Aristotelian sense. The setting at large is established at the beginning of the story and remains the same throughout the tale (cf. also (11) in 6.1.2.2. above, p. 100).

To begin with, we may discern four main sections in the text, cf. Fig. 9 below. For the convenience of the reader, they are here labelled simply according to their content. The first two sections each contain a sub-story followed by a description of the resulting situation. Here the cats are a problem for the man and the woman. From section three onwards the attitudes gradually change, first the woman's and then the man's. After two sub-stories, section three ends with a description of the resulting situation. Section four, finally, consists of yet another sub-story, which is preceded by a description of the situation. These four sections will below

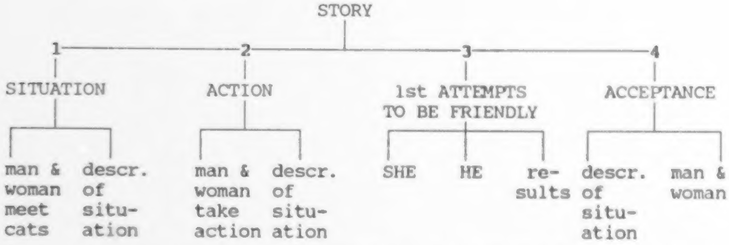
STORY
1
2
3
4
SITUATION
ACTION
1st ATTEMPTS TO BE FRIENDLY
ACCEPTANCE
man & woman meet cats
descr. of situ-ation
man & woman take action
descr. of situ-ation
SHE
HE
re-sults
descr. of situ-ation
man & woman

Figure 9. ***Four main sections of the CATS text, together with their sub-sections.***

be analysed in detail in terms of sub-sections and episodes. Let us, however, first consider the overall structure of the story in the light of the models introduced in 6.2.1., above.

In terms of Rumelhart's (1975) story-grammar, the CATS story might first be divided into a *setting* and an *episode*. The setting would correspond to the *orientation* and the episode to the *complicating action* and *resolution* in Labov and Waletzky 1967:32ff. and Labov 1977:362ff. As with BEARS, this division is not marked in the diagram above. The *setting* of the story is expressed in the first two paragraphs of the text (forming the first textual unit of the type that I shall call *episode* here; for terms of text segmentation, see 6.2.1. above; cf. also App. 1). Following the Labovian model, the *complicating action* would go on from the initial *orientation* at the outset of section one until the last section of the story, where the *resolution* finally takes place. This model, as pointed out above, also provides us with tools for analysing *evaluation*.

After the two paragraphs containing the *setting* of the story, the rest of the first sub-section in the section labelled SITUATION in Fig. 9 above (in my terms, episodes two to four) contain the Rumelhartian *episode* of the first sub-story. In terms of the modified version of Rumelhart's (1975) story-grammar applied in Fox 1987a, this sub-story may be regarded as the *initiating event*, and the *development* then starts from section two onwards, where several recursive analyses are again needed (for these categories, see Note 29 in 6.2.2.1. above, p. 137). Story-grammars do not usually provide means for analysing description in narrative.[40]

Alternatively, the entire section one (SITUATION in Fig. 9) might be interpreted as the *setting* or the *orientation* of the story. This is so because the first sub-story together with the description of the resulting situation, in fact, provides the text receiver with the necessary *background information* for appreciating the *initiating event* in section two (section 2 is termed ACTION in Fig. 9). Cf. Mandler and Johnson 1977, who have both *events* and *states* in their rewriting rule for *setting*. If section one is interpreted as the *setting*, the Rumelhartian *episode*, i.e. sections two to four, might then be further analysed in terms of a macro-level *event* and *reaction*. Hence, the *event* might, for instance, consist of section two and the *reaction* of sections three and four. Yet another alternative would be to also include the rest of section one after the story-initial two setting paragraphs in this global-level event. All of these high-level units must be recursively rewritten into increasingly smaller sub-stories. Finally, in Fox's terms, the *background information* in section one and the *initiating event* in section two would be followed by the *development* in section three and the *outcome* in section four (Fox 1987a:167-168).

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[40] To restrict the discussion to Rumelhart's model, there are several problems connected with a story-grammatical analysis of real stories, even if recursive *sub-stories* were included in the analysis. The role of description is one of them. The grammar allows the rewriting of the *setting* into an unlimited number of *states*. Story-internal description is difficult to deal with in these terms (cf., however, Thorndyke 1977 for a more frequent use of *states* in the rewriting rules). Secondly, Rumelhart uses *inferred* notions (cf. Rumelhart 1975:224). These obviously refer to the text receiver's inferences. Such inferences make it hard to keep the analysis on the formal level that it is originally aimed at (cf. also discussion in 6.2.1. above, pp. 131-134). Thirdly and perhaps most importantly, to be at all able to apply the model to real stories, the analyst must take the liberty to interpret Rumelhart's '+' as an optional addition as well as the order given in the second part of the rewriting rules as free (for rewriting rules, see Note 26 in 6.2.1. above, p. 132). Further, the different recursive rewriting rules must be non-sequential in character. If, however, all constituents become optional and non-sequential the grammar obviously loses its intended formalism.

In sum, whichever way we choose to analyse the content of the story we have to allow for several layers of recursive sub-story patterns as even this simple children's story is too complicated to be analysed in terms of simplistic story-grammars. If we start modifying the story-grammar to fit the present purposes, we end up writing too many new rules for the grammar to be comparable to that of "small stories". For this reason the present analysis retains terminology originating in the studies of stories while it, at the same time, starts out from the premises of the present text. As pointed out above, I shall discuss the story in terms of four main *sections*, which can be assigned different labels according to the models for narrative structure discussed above. Sections are in turn divided into *sub-sections* (the two levels outlined in Fig. 9 above). Sub-sections are either sub-stories within sections or embedded descriptions. *Episodes* are textual units smaller that sub-sections, and they may be established in terms of the local-level analyses of sub-stories or descriptive passages. An episode usually spans more than one typographical paragraph. The term *paragraph*, as pointed out above, is here used in the typographical sense, and it does not necessarily coincide with a textual unit (for a discussion, see 6.2.1. above, p. 130). The diagrams given below will not go deeper than the episode level. It is, however, possible to proceed to the level of the individual *moves* that together build up episodes.

Finally, since the diagrams represent the outcome of a synthesis of different models for the overall narrative structure, they are less hierarchic than a story-grammar tree (cf. also Fig. 7 in 6.2.2.1. above, p. 138). Moreover, as their purpose is to facilitate reading, the different sections, sub-sections, or episodes will be characterized with the help of verbal clues to the content of the text, to avoid a recurrent use of identical terminology in every single diagram.

SECTION 1

The first section introduces the situation in which the two sets of participants find themselves. It consists of a combination of narration and description, and these form the two sub-sections of the section. The first sub-section contains the sub-story of the man and the woman meeting the cats, and the second sub-section a description of the resulting situation of the two sets of participants.

Following Rumelhart, the first sub-story might be rewritten into a *setting* and an *episode*. The episode would then be further analysed as consisting of an *event* and a *reaction*. The event would have to be rewritten into two subsequent *events* (paragraph 3 and paragraphs 4-6; henceforth *par.)*. The reaction consists of an *internal response* and an *overt response*. Though explicitly expressed, the *emotion* in par. 7 might be an internal response. The overt response may be interpreted as an *attempt*, and further divided into a *plan* (inferrable here) and an *application*. The application, finally, consists of an *action* (par. 8) and a *consequence* (par. 9). Because of the first sentence of the story, there is some difficulty in analysing the setting (par. 1 and 2) into a series of *states* only (cf., however, Mandler and Johnson 1977, whose rewriting rules for *setting* include both *events* and *states;* cf. also Labov 1977:364).[41]

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[41] Though other story-grammars have other types of notions and divisions which may suit a particular story better than these (cf. e.g. Thorndyke 1977, and Mandler and Johnson 1977, referred to above), the obtained "formal" description of the structure of the story must always be taken with extreme caution. There is room here for several interpretations. See also the discussion in 6.2.1. and 6.2.2.1., above.

The above story-grammatical analysis appears in a simplified form in Fig. 10 below to cover four episodes, i.e. the *setting* (par. 1-2), the macro-level *event* (par. 3-6), the macro-level *reaction* (par. 7-8), and the *consequence* (par. 9). In Labovian terms, these would constitute the *orientation* in episode one, the *complication* in episodes two and three, and the *resolution* in episode four. The second sub-section of section one consists of description. It may be divided into two according to whose situation is described. Hence, we get two different episodes in this sub-section, i.e. par. 10-11 and 12-13.

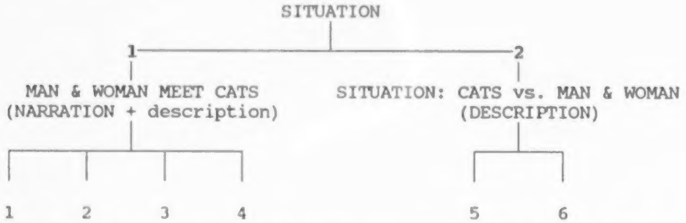

Figure 10. ***Text segmentation of section one in the CATS text.*** **The upper numbers refer to sub-sections, and the bottom-line numbers indicate episodes.**

Let us now take a closer look at the two sub-sections and the six episodes of section one, summarized in Figure 10, above. Of particular interest are the boundaries between the different textual units, and the explicit and implicit markers of TSCs and other textual signals that may be traced in the text. These are hypothesized to act as a clue to the text producer's text strategy, to facilitate text comprehension.

The story, predictably, starts from the establishment of the temporal and spatial setting and the introduction of the first set of participants:

(29) One evening in spring, a man and a woman moved into a new house. Just outside their door was a garden. It was a pretty garden, with flowers and grass and even a tree. (CATS:1/1)[42]

The first episode of the story consists of an initial action clause,[43] followed by a description of the spatial setting in paragraph one and the participants' mood in paragraph two. In the first sentence of the story, time is initial and place final to indicate the temporal TSC chosen by the text producer. We have to remember that fairy tales are extremely reader-oriented. After the initial time and participant orientation, which will be continued later on in the text, a short place description is included in the first paragraph. Accordingly, the spatial continuity is here used locally to establish the spatial setting of the story. In fact, typically for a place description, we find in this paragraph a sentence-initial adverbial of place, cf. *just outside their door*. This locative is inferrable from the one at the end of the previous sentence (cf. 7.3. below). It is given first in its sentence to guide us, so to speak, to the spot from which we are then supposed to view what is indicated in the text thereafter (for strategies used in place descriptions, see 6.2.3. below).

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[42] *1/1* refers to 'episode one, paragraph one'. See App. 1.

[43] *Action clauses* are *narrative clauses*, roughly (cf. Labov and Waletzky 1967:22ff. and Labov 1977:361-362). They may refer to both actions and events, but not to states.

Episode one thus manifests a local spatial continuity in paragraph one, and the two major strategies of the narrative are introduced here, i.e. the global temporal TSC and participant continuity. Pronominal reference to continuous participants is enough in the second paragraph as no textual shifts occur here. Also, there is no danger of ambiguity as the second set of participants have not yet been introduced into the story.

Episode two begins with two initial time adverbials. *The next morning* functions as a shift marker and indicates that the second action or event will now take place, after the initial action clause and the description of the setting and the first set of participants. *As soon as they woke up* is where it is because of the initial strategy adverbial *the next morning*, and more importantly, because the text then follows the chronological order of the events described (cf. 6.1.2.1. above, p. 93, and 8.1. below). The order of the two successive adverbials is at the same time from the general to the particular, from the whole to the part, from the including to the included, and so forth (cf. also the beginning of episode 3 in BEARS; see van Dijk 1977:106ff.).

(30) *The next morning, as soon as they woke up*, they ran to the window to admire their garden. (CATS:2/3)

As the episode shift is already signalled with the help of a temporal marker, the unambiguously continuous participants need not be referred to with a full NP here. After this action sentence, we get a very evaluative description of what the participants saw from their window, and thus the second set of participants of the story, the *cats*, are introduced into the text. They assume the role of the main participants at the end of this episode (*And every cat was---. And every cat had fleas.)*

Episode three, next, starts with sentence-initial and paragraph-initial direct speech, a very vivid device of developing the narrative (cf. 6.2.2.1. above, p. 140): this is the peak of the sub-story.[44] Further, participant continuity is here broken. Turning from the cats to the man and the woman demands full reference. This episode consists of narrative alone. Episode four, the outcome of the sub-story, starts with an action sentence that breaks the participant continuity. As it gives the text receiver the cats' situation, rather than that of the man and the woman, described until this point, it is introduced by the contrastive conjunction *but*.

In sum, these four episodes may be interpreted as a sub-section, as they differ from the following two episodes in text type. The first subsection is basically a narrative, as witnessed by the episode-initial sentences. Description is here embedded in the narrative. This sub-story may be interpreted in terms of narrative units, it is climactic, and it contains evaluative elements and a focus of evaluation right before the peak.

Conversely, the second sub-section consists entirely of description, and starts, accordingly, with a description marker, the 'durative' *all day*.

(31) *All day* the cats played in the pretty garden. (CATS:5/10)

All day is not part of the chain of the sentence-, section- or episode-initial time 'when' adverbials that steer the text along temporal lines. But in line with the dominant temporal TSC well established at this point in the text, *all day* is placed initially to mark the boundary between the first sub-section and the second, which is a section-final description of the state of things.

Interestingly, though there is participant continuity from the previous episode, a full NP reference is made to the continuous participants. This is so because participant continuity here passes a major textual boundary, one between two sub-sections. The full NP reference thus also contributes to the signalling of this textual shift (cf. the discussion in 6.1.2.3. above, p. 101ff., and 6.2.2.1., p. 147ff.). Due to the inheritance of aspects from a higher level, discussed in connection with the BEARS text above (see p. 149ff.), the text producer need not signal minor shifts with a number of markers. At major boundaries, again, even continuing strategies may demand full exponents. The text receiver, it may be hypothesized, may here drop several of the continuous threads from her/his limited working memory, and trust the text producer to guide her/him in the reactivation of the relevant participants and the reconstruction of the shifts in the temporal and locative TSCs (cf. e.g. the discussion of the short-term, working memory, and the *episodic text memory* in van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:246ff.; see also e.g. Givón 1990:940-941; Stark 1988:301). The text producer may make use of this, to create an iconic reflection of the hierarchy of text structure, necessarily presented in a linear form. Thus, more material (i.e. several markers, or larger markers) tends to be used in the signalling of major boundaries, as compared to minor ones.

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[44] I analyse the speech event as a whole as part of the story line, i.e. the temporally sequential chain of actions and events. In particular, the first occurrence of sentence-initial direct speech after narration or description seems to function as a signal of a textual boundary. Direct speech will not be further analysed in the present study, due to its own internal states of affairs.

Two episodes may be discerned in the description in the second subsection of section one, which contrasts the situation of the cats with that of the man and the woman. The second episode is marked off by the contrastive conjunction *but* and a break in participant continuity.[45]

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[45] Episode 6 might be picked out as an example of the variation between pronominal vs. full NP reference in participant continuity. It starts with full reference because of the break in participant continuity. Above, it has been pointed out that major textual boundaries, such as the ones between sections or sub-sections in the present analysis, seem to demand a full reference to participants even when these are the same as in the preceding episode or move, which then belongs to the preceding (sub-)section. Consider the boundary between episodes 4 and 5. Pronominal reference is here blocked through the function that the TSC of participant(s) plays in marking textual shifts.

Within such major textual units, however, different rules apply. A full reference is basically demanded if participant continuity is broken. If, however, the new participants do not assume an active role in the development of the story line, i.e. if they do not function as agents, the preceding participants may again be referred to through pronouns. Consider, in this light, episode 6. Pronominal reference to the man and the woman is possible in the last clause of paragraph 13 despite the reference to the cats at the beginning of the same sentence. The cats do not here function as agents and there is no textual boundary. On the other hand, a full reference is made to the cats (par. 13) because they reappear after a passage in which the other set of participants have formed participant continuity. If the function of the man and the woman as actors in paragraph 12 is questioned, there are still other motivations to trigger a full NP reference to the cats here: the episode boundary between paragraphs 11 and 12, the distance to the previous mention, and the risk of ambiguity. Cf. also the discussion in 6.2.2.1. above, esp. Note 38 on p. 148.

SECTION 2

Section two is iconic of section one in text structure. It consists of a sub-story followed by a description of the situation after the event. This second combination of narrative and description gives an account of the action that the man and the woman take to drive the cats away once an opportunity presents itself, and of the situation after the failed attempt. The passage is here termed section two (see Fig. 9 above, and Fig. 11 below), though it would of course also be possible to interpret the first two sections as one section (cf. the discussion of the overall structure of the story, pp. 153-156 above). Both sections one and two complicate the action in terms of a conflict between the two sets of participants. The negative attitude present in this first half of the story gradually develops into a positive one from section three onwards. Let us now explore section two in some detail.

Sub-section one of section two is a sub-story, which lacks an explicit *setting*. The first rewriting rule must, therefore, here be **(Sub-)Story -> Episode**. Apart from the new temporal marker, the setting is, of course, the same as in the first sub-story, and section one as a whole provides the background for this new event. If par. 14 and 15 are interpreted as a micro-level *setting*, we are up against the same sort of problem as in connection with the story-initial setting in par. 1 and 2: the first sentence expresses an event - it is a narrative clause. Instead, these paragraphs might constitute what Fox calls an *initiating event*. Par. 16-18 then form Fox's *development*, or Labov's *complication*. They might be further analysed as a sub-sub-story (e.g. a Rumelhartian *event* rewritten as an *episode*, which further consists of an *event* in par. 16 and 17 and a *reaction* in par. 18, and so forth). Further, if par. 14-18 form the Rumelhartian *event*, then the *reaction* will consist of par. 19-22. But these might perhaps better be viewed as the *outcome* of the *initiating event* (par. 14 to 15) and *development* (par. 16 to 18) - or else, the *resolution* of the *complication* in the sub-story. Finally, par. 23 consists of a flashback, which has the function of explaining how the outcome of the sub-story was possible.

Hence, par. 14 will be the first episode here, episode 7, in my use of the term. Par. 15 gives an explanation for this event, and it is separated as an episode of its own. Episode 9 covers the sub-sub-story complicating the action, while episode 10 consists of the resolution. The sub-section-final flashback is also a separate episode. Episodes 7 and 8, and 10 and 11 might in fact also be considered sub-episodes, grouped together to form episodes. Episodes 8 and 11 are clearly evaluative (Labov 1977:390ff.). But evaluative elements also appear in episodes 9 and 10. The sub-story may be viewed in terms of two peaks, one at the end of the climactic sub-sub-story in episode 9 and the other in the resolution of episode 10. The second sub-section, the section-final description of the situation of the two sets of participants, has been analysed as consisting of two separate episodes, as in section one. The following diagram presents the sub-sections and episodes of the second section of the text.

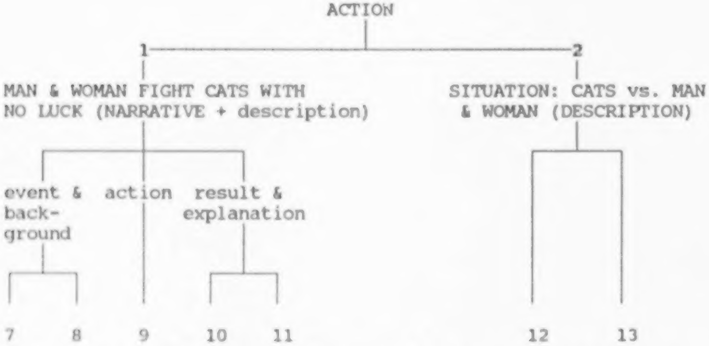
ACTION
1
2
MAN & WOMAN FIGHT CATS WITH NO LUCK (NARRATIVE + description)
SITUATION: CATS vs. MAN & WOMAN (DESCRIPTION)
event & back-ground
action
result & explanation
7
8
9
10
11
12
13

Figure 11. ***Text segmentation of section two in the CATS text.*** **The upper numbers refer to sub-sections, the bottom-line numbers indicate episodes.**

An examination of the signals of textual shifts shows that the major shift from section one to section two is marked by an initial time adverbial, as well as by a break in participant continuity (cf. also the discussion in Note 45 on p. 160 above):

(32) *That night, the cats* disappeared. (CATS:7/14)

Episode 7 contains the event that gives rise to the attempt of the man and the woman to close the cats out of the garden. Episode 8 explains the motivation for this event by connecting it to a daily routine, which is further evaluated in the second part of the sentence. Accordingly, the episode starts with an adverbial denoting 'frequency', cf. (33) below.

(33) *Every night* they had to look for left-overs that had been thrown away, for, since they had no home, they had no one to feed them. (CATS:8/15)

Pronominal reference to continuous participants is enough at episode shifts, as has been pointed out above in connection with the discussion of minor and major boundaries in text. Distance may also be a decisive factor here (cf. Givón 1983a:11, 13ff.; 1983b:352ff.; for criticism, see Fox 1987a:158ff.). The participant references in episodes 7 and 8 are close, and hence, unambiguous. Conversely, the longer gap between, for instance, the references to the 'cats' in episodes 5 and 6 causes a much heavier load on the processing capacity of the text receiver, especially as the other set of participants have been referred to in the interval (cf. also the discussion in Note 45 on p. 160 above).

We are taken back to the narration by a break in participant continuity (indicated accordingly by the use of a full NP) at the beginning of episode 9:

(34) *The man and the woman* went into the garden. (CATS:9/16)

As pointed out on p. 161 above, episode 9 might be divided into two. The first part of this sub-sub-story would, then, contain the *event* of the man and the woman finding a big hole under the fence of the garden (par. 16 and 17), and the second, marked off by paragraph-initial direct speech, the *reaction* consisting of the decision and the action of filling in the hole to keep the cats out (par. 18). As the status of direct speech, an important part of the development of a narrative, nevertheless remains outside the scope of this study, and as there is both participant, action and time continuity in the passage, it has been regarded as one episode in this connection.

The new situation after the action passage is given in episode 10, followed by a flashback explaining how this situation came to being (episode 11). Episode 10 is introduced by an initial time adverbial *the next* *morning*, cf. (35) below. At the same time, it is continuous with the preceding episode as a whole, as regards participants and action. Episode 11, given below as (36), is marked by a break in participant continuity (cf. also the individualization of the big cats here, after reference to the whole set of cats in the preceding par. 22). The *cats* do not function as agents after reference to the active couple in episode 10, and therefore, the break in participant continuity does not occur until the episode boundary. There is also a change of the tense, pointing to a break in action continuity as well as in the temporal one. Both the temporal sequentiality and the temporal adjacency are here broken, and episode 11 could be interpreted as a local macro-action of its own, further analysable in terms of micro-actions (cf. 6.1.2.5. above, pp. 110-111).

(35) *The next morning* they woke up smiling. (CATS:10/19)

(36) The big cats had climbed over the fence. *Then* they had dug a new hole under the fence to let in the kittens that were still too little to climb so high. (CATS:11/23)

This last example shows a sentence-initial *then* marking time and action continuity between two sentences, which form a paragraph and an episode.[46] This is a local link, structuring a flashback episode temporally where the tense-aspect system alone is not felt by the writer to be enough to stress the sequentiality of these two actions. Functioning on the local level, it thus differs from the other time adverbials of section two (i.e. *that night*, *every night*, *the next morning*, and *every day)*, which contribute to the global temporal organization of the text.

The next descriptive sub-section again contains two episodes (cf. subsection two in section one). Episode 12 describes the cats' situation and episode 13 that of the man and the woman. This second sub-section of section two (episode 12) is introduced by the adverbial of frequency *every day*, cf. (37).

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[46] As has been repeatedly pointed out above, direct speech will not be analysed here, due to its own rules. Therefore, the temporal-resultive *then* in the direct speech part of episode 9 will, for instance, not be considered. Also, it seems that a direct-speech reference to participants does not affect principles of participant continuity in the story, though it may of course serve other discoursal functions, such as evaluation.

(37) *Every day* the cats played in the pretty garden. (CATS:12/24)

As this is a sub-section boundary, full reference is made to the continuous group of participants, which, however, was individualized at the end of the preceding episode. Pronominalization would here lead to ambiguity. Episode 13 is separated from episode 12 by a break in participant continuity. In addition, contrast is here achieved through a highlighting of the reintroduced participants: *The man and the woman were the ones who---*.

SECTION 3

This is the turning point of the story: now the attitudes start to change. The woman makes an effort to be friendly with the cats, followed by a similar attempt from the part of the man. These two passages form the first two sub-sections of section 3, and they can be analysed in terms of sub-stories. The section ends with a third sub-section, a description of the resulted state of affairs, introduced by *and so*.

The first sub-story, sub-section one, consists of a series of events leading to the peak of that story. The section-initial sentence consists of both the Rumelhartian *setting* and the beginning of his macro-level *episode*. This *episode* further consists of a relatively high-level *event* (my episodes 14 to 19) and *reaction* (my episodes 20 and 21). The serial development of this *event* is difficult to analyse according to the Rumelhartian model unless, for instance, the rewrite rule for *event* is modified to yield an unlimited number of hierarchically lower *events*.[47] These may then be recursively viewed as *episodes*, consisting of a micro-level *event* and *reaction*. Thus, what I have called episode 14 contains such an *event*, rewritable into an *episode:* its moves can be analysed in terms of the structure of a sub-sub-story. And what I have termed episodes 15 to 17 may each be regarded as such a micro-level *episode*. For reasons to be dealt with below, the last of the series extends over my episodes 18 and 19, which contain the micro-level *event* and *reaction*, respectively. Finally, the macro-level *reaction* may be interpreted as the *action* in my episode 20 and the *consequence* in my episode 21.

---

[47] The syntactic rule referred to is **Event -> {Episode | Change-of-State | Action | Event + Event}**. The rules of Rumelhart's (1975) story-grammar are summarized in Note 26 in 6.2.1. above, p. 132.

Another, though semantically less rewarding, alternative would be to rewrite the macro-level *event* into an *episode*, and then analyse the series of incidents taking place from the Tuesday to the Friday as a *reaction* to the (initiating) *event* of the incident on the Monday. In this way, it is possible to apply the rewriting rule for the *overt response*, which allows for an unlimited number of *attempts*. The *attempts* in my episodes 15 to 17 thus all roughly have the structure of an explicit or implicit *action* and *consequence*. The last *attempt* extending over two of my episodes, 18 and 19, similarly consists of an *action* in the first of these and the *consequence* in the second.

In the light of other models, again, my episode 14 would correspond to the *background information* and *initiating event*, or the *orientation* and the beginning of the *complication*. The *development*, or *complication*, would then go on from episode 15 until the *outcome*, or *resolution*, in episode 21. Episode 20 may be considered the peak of the sub-story, and the focus of evaluation. But the entire sub-story, built up with the help of a series of climactic micro-level sub-sub-stories, is extremely rich in various evaluative devices.

The second sub-story, sub-section two, again starts with a *setting*, *orientation*, or *background information*. This setting is included in the sub-sub-story of par. 36-39, which I have labelled episode 22. This first part of sub-section two forms the Rumelhartian *event*, under the sub-story node of *episode*. And my episodes 23 and 24 contain the Rumelhartian *reaction*, rewritable into an *action* and a *consequence*, respectively. Alternatively, the *complication* of the sub-story begins in par. 38 and goes on

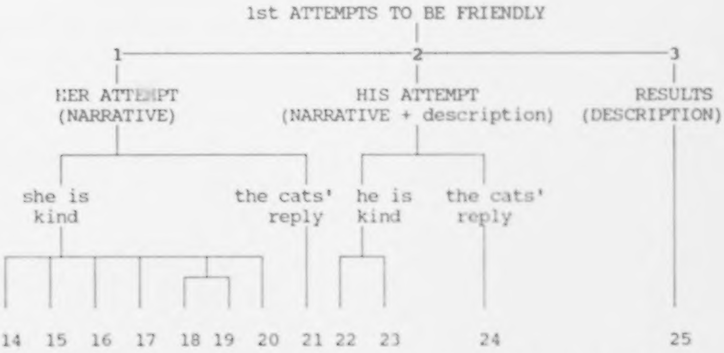

Figure 12. ***Text segmentation of section three in the CATS text.*** **The upper numbers refer to sub-sections, and the bottom-line numbers indicate episodes.**

until the *resolution* in par. 41 (my episode 24). In line with the analysis of the previous sub-story, episode 23 may be interpreted as the peak of the sub-story, and it is also the focus though not the sole locus of evaluation.

The section-final description, sub-section three, may be considered as the *outcome*, or *resolution* of the section-level story: the various models for narrative structure may obviously also be applied on the level of the entire section. Figure 12 summarizes the internal structure of section three.

Let us now take a closer look at the first sub-section of section three, which contains the first attempts of friendliness to the cats, shown by the woman. This passage includes a series of paragraph-initial time adverbials denoting weekdays from Monday (cf. *one evening)* to Friday, and the following Sunday is used as a shift to the second sub-section (see (38) below). Each of the weekdays indicate the beginning of a new episode, but other markers may also be found.

(38) *One evening* the woman found that there was a bit of milk left over after supper.

"I may as well give it to those skinny, scraggly, scrawny cats," she decided. She poured it into a pan and put it in the garden. That was *on Monday*.

On Tuesday, she ordered a whole extra quart of milk from the milkman. By mistake, of course.

Do you know what she did with it?

On Wednesday, she bought too much chopped meat at the butcher's shop - another mistake?

On Thursday, she came upon an extra dozen eggs in her shopping bag. But they did not go to waste, for eggs are fine for cats.

On Friday, the mackerel in the market looked so firm and fresh that the woman completely forgot that they were having supper with friends that evening. She bought some mackerel and brought it home.

Then, of course, she couldn't throw it away - because she knew how cats feel about FISH.

> "Now mind you," the woman warned the cats, "just because I give you food, you mustn't think I like having you here in our garden. I just happen to have bought this extra food by mistake."
>
> The cats sat still and stared at her. *Then* they all CLOSED their big, round, yellow-green eyes.
>
> *On Sunday*, it rained. (CATS:14-22/26-36)

This sub-section is separated from the preceding section especially by the initial *one evening*, which marks a shift in the global temporal TSC. Further, a full NP reference is at this point made to the participant (*the woman),* as there is an individualization in one of the sets of participants. Within the first sub-section, there is participant continuity until the last two sentences, between which the cats form continuity (episode 21).

The sub-sub-story in episode 14 might also be divided into two, a story-grammatical *event* in par. 26 and the *reaction* in par. 27, on the same grounds as episode 9 in section two above. The boundary between these is signalled with the help of sentence-initial direct speech. There is a close participant continuity in the whole of episode 14, and reference is made via pronouns (cf. also episode 9). Also, action continuity prevails, in the sense that episode 14 is about the sub-action that took place on Monday. The temporally sequential and adjacent series of actions forms here a sub-action or a micro-action, which is again part of larger micro-actions and local and global macro-actions (cf. 6.1.2.5. above, pp. 110-111). The last sentence of episode 14, i.e. *that was on Monday*, forms a link to the episode-initial time adverbial *one morning*. This final sentence of the micro-level narrative resembles a *coda* (Labov 1977:365-366) and closes the sub-sub-story.

A more global way of viewing the two adverbials of time in episode 14 is to interpret the commentized adverbial *on Monday* as reinforcing *one evening*, which is an especially important signal of the global temporal TSC of the text. This is the boundary between the most macro-level *event* and *reaction*, the two parts of the Rumelhartian *episode* encompassing the entire story, after its *setting* (cf. pp. 153-156 above). Together these two adverbials have the function of *framing* the textual unit (cf. Uspensky 1973), and they thus mark this textual shift as different from the preceding ones. At the same time, the sentence *that was on Monday* -

and in particular, its commentized time adverbial - lets us anticipate a new textual shift by a position that carries end-weight in the paragraph and the entire episode. Hence, it also serves to tie this textual unit to the tight temporal chain that is to begin here (cf. also the discussion of *anticipated shifts* in 6.6.1.1. above).[48]

Episodes 15 to 18 are then marked with the chain of initially placed time adverbials, indicating successive weekdays. This chain of temporal markers emphasizes the series of similar episodes, with the effect of signalling a crucial development in the story line. The last of the weekdays, Friday, deserves a more detailed treatment as it leads to the important incident of interactive communication between the couple and the cats. After the text-strategically important adverbial, episode 18 contains a comparative construction highlighting the second part of the sentence, in which a full NP reference is made to the continuous participant (cf. also episodes 4 and 13 in BEARS, see 6.2.2.1. above; cf. also the discussion in Thompson 1987:451). In the diagram on p. 166 above, 18 and 19 appear as two different sub-episodes. The initial *then* at the beginning of episode 19 stresses the next step in the development of the story line, and marks a shift in time and action continuity. As pointed out above, if an implicit 'then' is made explicit in a temporally sequential narrative, as has been done at the juncture between the sub-episodes 18 and 19, there has to be a reason. The motivation here lies in the episode shift, which emphasizes the crucial status of the actions undertaken on the Friday as compared to the preceding ones.[49]

Sub-section one displays a growing development of a positive attitude, which temporarily culminates in episodes 18-20. The pace of the narration is at this point slowed down from that of episodes 14 to 17. The individual sub-actions of the Friday passage are more carefully singled out, and this has the effect of stretching out the last micro-action, or rather the local-level macro-action, of sub-section one (cf. also the strategies used in episodes 4-9 in BEARS). All of this is connected with *tension* (Longacre 1983:22; cf. 5.3.1., p. 78, and 6.2.2.1., pp. 140ff., above), and will be further discussed below (see pp. 180-182). The vivid episode 20 was above considered the peak of this sub-story, and this is also where the focus of evaluation lies.

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[48] For *end-weight*, see e.g. Leech 1983:65-66. I follow Enkvist in making a distinction between, on the one hand, *theme* and *rheme*, and on the other, *topic* and *comment* (cf. Note 21 in 6.1.5.1. above, p. 124; Enkvist 1984:53-55). In the instance discussed here, the placement of the textually crucial time adverbial *on Monday* in the sentence-final rhematic position, and the sentence itself in the episode-final position, may be argued to manifest a result of the process of *commentization* on the level of the episode. For information dynamics, see Chapter 7.

[49] For a similar upgrading of a minor boundary, see the discussion of episode 6 in BEARS, pp. 141-142 above.

The last shift of the sub-section, leading to the outcome or resolution in episode 21, is signalled by a break in participant continuity. The episode-internal *then* in episode 21 is used to stress the importance of the second action of the cats, which is further emphasized through capital letters and an episode-final position (cf. Note 48 on p. 169 above).

The first sub-section in section three invites a brief discussion of shifts in participant continuity. Pronominal reference is enough in this passage as the continuity of the main participant of the sub-story is not broken before the resolution in episode 21. In addition to the section-initial full reference to the *woman*, however, a few other full NPs also appear here. As pointed out above, in episode 18, a full NP is used in the highlighted part of the comparative construction, and it is one of the markers of the textual shift. Hence, this episode is marked differently from the preceding ones, and it is no more just another event in a series of similar events. The use of several shift markers here emphasizes the last step in the series (cf. also the first step, in episode 14). Another instance of a full NP reference to the *woman* may be found in episode 20. The shift to episode 20 is thus doubly marked - note the use of paragraph-initial direct speech. This is a crucial boundary in the sub-section: in Rumelhartian terms, it is the shift to the *reaction* part of the sub-story. Furthermore, episode 20 - the focus of evaluation in the richly evaluated passage - was above also argued to constitute the peak of this narrative.

While the first sub-section of section three mostly contains narrative clauses, filled out with short embedded explanations, the second sub-section starts off with a description, cf. (39), below. Therefore, the break in participant continuity only comes somewhat after the temporal shift (for the locative marker in par. 37, see p. 171, below). This is a *prolonged shift*, distinct from the "immediate shifts" encountered so far in the texts examined here. There are thus several devices here that mark the boundary between two textual units but they do not all cluster at the very beginning of the new unit. Instead, the shift is drawn out, and there is a transitional passage leading from one textual unit to another.[50]

(39) *On Sunday*, it rained.

From their window, the man and the woman could see the cats huddled together under the weeds.

"I don't have much to do today," *the man* announced. "I think I'll rig up some kind of shelter for those cats - just for something to do." (CATS:22/36-38)

After the initial description of the rainy Sunday, we are told what the man, in turn, did for the cats. Time, connecting this sub-section to the preceding one, comes first (*on Sunday*). The sub-section boundary is reinforced by the absence of 'Saturday' from the narration. This creates a distance between the action continuity of sub-section one and that of sub-section two, though they are, of course, both part of the same action on a more macro-level. Together with the prolonged shift, and the sub-section-initial description, the absence of 'Saturday' also diminishes the vividness in the narration after the culmination of sub-section one.

The temporal shift marker (*on Sunday*) is followed by a break in participant continuity. This time, however, the break does not take place in the same paragraph as the temporal shift. Moreover, the break is gradual: the focus is first changed from the woman and the cats back to the couple (*the man and the woman* in par. 37). Full reference to the couple is here needed also because of the individualization of the 'woman' in the preceding sub-section. After two descriptive paragraphs (36 and 37), the beginning of the narrative part of this sub-section is marked by a full NP reference to its main participant (*the man*). This second individualization occurs after paragraph-initial direct speech, which is another important signal of a textual shift, as will be remembered from the discussion above. The paragraph-initial place adverbial in par. 37 (*from their window*) has here an important function in changing the "camera angle" (cf. Kuno and Kaburaki 1977) from the woman and the cats communicating with each other in the garden to the couple inside the house, looking out through their window at the cats in the rain.

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[50] Cf. also the strategy of anticipating a major shift by placing the textual boundary already at the end of the preceding textual unit. Such *anticipated shifts* are then typically reinforced by the actual shift. See the section boundaries between episodes 9 and 10, and 12 and 13, in BEARS, discussed in 6.2.2.1. above, p. 140.

Episode 22 might, of course, be divided into smaller units so that it would consist of the initial description (par. 36 and 37), and secondly, of the passage starting with direct speech and the full NP reference to the 'man' (par. 38 and 39). These correspond to the *setting* and the *(initiating) event* of the sub-story. The second of these, the sub-sub-story which tells us about the building of the shelter against the rain, maintains participant continuity. Next, episodes 23 and 24 are iconic of episodes 20 and 21. They form the story-grammatical *reaction*, which is here, too, separated from the preceding *event* by paragraph-initial direct speech. The shift to the *consequence* in episode 24 is marked by a break in participant continuity. An explicit *then* is again used sentence-initially - well separated from its sentence - in the middle of this episode to stress the crucial second action (cf. also the capital letters of the action verb).

(40) The cats sat still and stared at him. *Then* - each one WINKED one big, round, yellow-green eye. (CATS:24/41)

The entire sub-section forms the last step in the series of actions taken during one week, which reflects a gradually increasing positive attitude towards the cats. This is where the action of section three is culminated, and its outcome is described in sub-section three. The shifts between the different actions forming sub-section two are less accentuated than, for instance, in the preceding Friday passage. Interpreting par. 36-38 as a *prolonged shift*, episodes 22 and 23 may be said to be tied together with the help of participant continuity, starting with a full reference in par. 38 (*the man)* and continuing with pronominal reference *(he)*.

Before we come to section four in the story, in which the presence of the cats in the garden will finally be accepted by the man and the woman, another sub-section of section three still remains to be discussed. The first two sub-sections consisted mainly of narrative; the last one, again, is a description of how the cats changed as a result of the efforts of the man and the woman to be kind to them. Sub-section three is thus a transitional passage describing the consequences of the first friendly gestures of the couple before the beginning of the final scene in section four.

Sub-section three might be further divided. In this connection, however, one episode will suffice. The description is introduced by *and* in combination with the resultive conjunct *so* (for the term, see CGEL:635):

(41) *And so* summer went slowly by. (CATS:25/42-43)

One of the motivations for a conjunction/conjunct marker here may be the wish to avoid explicit temporal continuity at this point, for reasons connected with the coding of the peak of the story. Note also the chain of seasons in the text, appearing at the outset of the story *(in **spring**)*, fairly initially here *(and so **summer** went slowly by)* and at the beginning of section four *(then one day, **winter** came)*.

The description in sub-section three is built around the cats. Though these form continuity with the preceding episode, full reference is used to mark the sub-section boundary. Par. 42 also creates distance to episode 24, thus bringing in a risk of ambiguity. Within this sub-section participant continuity is maintained. A full NP is used at the beginning of par. 44 when reference is made to the generic notion of 'cats'. This might be interpreted as a suggestion for a boundary between minor textual units such as sub-episodes or moves (for the ordering of the clauses here, cf. the principles of experiential iconicity). Yet in the second sentence of par. 44, the reference is without difficulty switched back to the specific cats through pronominal anaphora. This is possible because no textual shift in fact takes place here. Moreover, the reference to the generic 'cats' does not break the participant continuity of the specific 'cats': the generic 'cats' of the explanatory sentence do not assume an active role as participants in the story (cf. also the changes of the tense here). Finally, this paragraph is closely tied to the preceding one through the conjunction *and*, and through *lexical overlap* (Thompson and Longacre 1985:211) between the 'generic' *when*-clause and the final sentence of par. 43.

The time adverbials in this sub-section express 'frequency', cf. the clause-final *every day*, or they are 'generic' (the *when*-clause, linking the consequence of the cats' washing themselves to their feeling good because they were fed, stated in the previous paragraph):

(42) The cats began to be not quite so skinny, scraggly, scrawny, because the woman fed them *every day*. They began to feel good.

And *when cats feel good* - as you've probably noticed - they begin to wash themselves. They washed and they washed, and--- (CATS:25/43-44)

This transitional passage differs from the descriptive passages in the second sub-section of sections 1 and 2, and the beginning of the second sub-section in section 3, in the expression of the global temporal TSC of the story (cf. the 'durative' *all day*, the 'frequentative' *every day*, and finally, the definite time adverbial *on Sunday*, which may all be related to the global chain, see below, pp. 183-187). Being marked with a different device, a conjunction followed by a conjunct, this passage becomes distinct from the other sections. The connection of the transition at this point of the story to the development of tension in the narrative will be considered presently. Before that, however, section four remains to be dealt with.

SECTION 4

The shift to section four is again marked by a shift in the temporal continuity (cf. the cluster of initial time adverbials *then one day)*. It is worth noting that temporal markers are used more sparingly from the beginning of the second sub-section of section three *(on Sunday)* onwards. At this point, however, the temporal shift - marked with two successive time adverbials - is even further reinforced by the adverbial *all of a sudden* - a blend of time and manner - at the beginning of the next sentence. The temporal shift is later followed by a break in participant continuity. Here we have a prolonged shift, within which the situation of the couple is first contrasted with that of the cats. This initial descriptive passage forms the first sub-section of section four. As above, I have here, too, divided the sub-section into two episodes according to the set of participants involved. The second sub-section consists of narration with some embedded description. The two sub-sections of section four thus form the Rumelhartian *setting* and *episode*, or else, the Labovian *orientation*, and secondly, the *complication* leading to the final *resolution* of the text. On the global level, as pointed out on pp. 153-156 above, the entire section four may be interpreted as the *resolution* of the story.

The second sub-section thus forms the final sub-story in CATS. As such, it has an *event* and a *reaction*. The *initiating event* may be divided into two, i.e. a sub-sub-story in my episode 28, and an evaluative description in episode 29. I have distinguished three episodes within the *reaction* part. In story-grammatical terms, these constitute the *overt response*, which may be further rewritten into a *preaction* in episode 30 (to be finally rewritten into an *action* and a *consequence)*, an *action* in episode 31, and the *consequence* in episode 32. Other rewritings are also possible (cf. Note 26 in 6.2.1. above, p. 132). Several of the episodes might be further segmented as micro-stories on the move level. Consider Fig. 13 for the structure of the final section of the story.[51]

To examine the boundaries between these episodes, we need to return to the first sub-section, given as (43) below. After the reintroduction of the man and the woman in the prolonged shift, the second episode is marked by a break in participant continuity, starting with a reference to

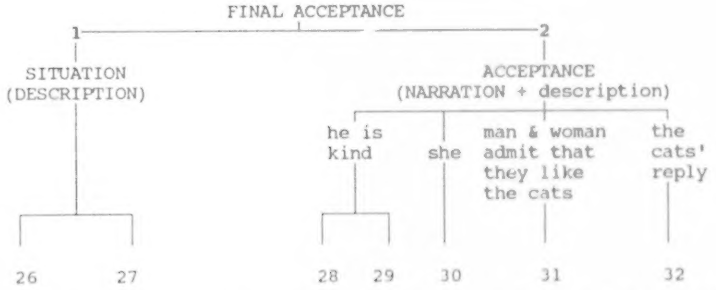

Figure 13. ***Text segmentation of section four in the CATS text.*** **The topmost numbers refer to sub-sections, while the bottom-line numbers indicate episodes.**

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[51] Another alternative would be to analyse sub-section two in terms of two sub-sub-stories. The first of these would cover the building of the small houses, i.e. my episodes 28 to 30, and the second would consist of the final scene, i.e. my episodes 31 and 32. The main differences would then be the status of episode 30 as the outcome of the first sub-sub-story, and the upgrading of the boundary between episodes 30 and 31.

the 'cats'. Immediately after that, the couple is again referred to by a full NP because of the reference to the cats in the preceding sentence (cf. the risk of ambiguity), and possibly also because of the boundary between episodes 26 and 27.

> (43) *Then one day*, winter came. *All of a sudden*, it snowed and the wind was wild. *The man and woman* stayed indoors, warm and snug.
>
> *The cats* huddled together under the icicles in the little garden. *The man and woman* almost couldn't see them through the thick frost on the window. But they knew they were there. Because *now* they knew that *the cats* had no other place to go to. (CATS:26-27/45-46)

The conspicuous reintroduction of the temporal TSC is here realized in a way that bears some resemblance to the first episode of section three. Sub-section one is framed with the help of temporal expressions that refer to the same point on the narrative time line, cf. *one morning <– that was on Monday* in episode 14, and *then one day / all of a sudden <– now* in (43) above. Moreover, the use of the deictic time adverbial *now* at the very end of the orientation considerably heightens the vividness of this descriptive passage, and more importantly, it highlights the beginning of the text-final sub-story (cf. Bronzwaer 1975:62-63; for a discussion of the importance of the segment-final position, i.e. one preceding a textual boundary, see Giora 1983). Note also the full NP reference to the 'cats' in the paragraph-final *that*-clause.[52]

It is interesting to note how at this point in the story, in the description leading to the final sub-section of the text, time reference suddenly becomes deictic. While the weekdays in section three might be argued to belong to a deictic paradigm (cf. e.g. *on Thursday* vs. *on the Thursday, on the following Thursday)*, the temporal adverbials *now* and *this time* do so more clearly. The adverbial *this time* is repeated four times at the very end of the text, in the story-final episodes 31 and 32, see (44) on p. 179 below. In the passage between the first *now*-reference and the final scene in episodes 31 and 32 (i.e. the building of the small houses in episodes

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[52] Such signals might also be argued to turn the sentence into an anticipated shift, cf. 6.2.2.1. above, p.140.

28-30), time references follow the earlier pattern, cf. *Because then she could hear---* in par. 50, and *in the morning* in par. 51.

Deictic time adverbials deviate from the expected narrative paradigm, and this must have an important textual or discoursal motivation. Their appearance in this text is connected with the gradual growth of tension in the second half of the text. Bronzwaer (1975) relates this use of deictic time adverbials to point of view and to foregrounding in the narrative. Point of view will not be further considered in the present study, whereas grounding distinctions will be touched upon in Chapter 8, below. Suffice it to say in this connection that deictic adverbials of time here serve an empathetic function. Deviating from the expected pattern, they strongly highlight the culmination of the story.[53]

The narrative context determines the temporal reference of deictic adverbials, and they may but need not function as part of the chain of signals of the global temporal TSC. They may advance the story, but more often than not, they rather suspend or conclude the action. Their appearance in narrative, however, strongly suggests that the dominant temporal TSC is contagious: even other textual and discoursal functions may easily surface in temporally organized texts in the form of initially placed adverbials of time. These adverbials must, however, differ from the typical exponents of the strategy, to be able to serve additional functions.

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[53] *Point of view* (see e.g. Björklund 1990; Ehrlich 1990; Fleischman 1990; Uspensky 1973) in simple stories like the ones under investigation here is normally unmarked, i.e. that of an objective, distanced narrator. But such texts occasionally contain devices characteristic of the expression of point of view, such as the deictic adverbial ***now*** in connection with a 'private' verb (CGEL:1181) in episode 27. This use has here the effect of creating personal involvement, which the text receiver is led to adopt (see e.g. the discussion of ***empathetic deixis*** in Lyons 1977:677; cf. also Björklund 1990). In this it works together with the evaluative elements distributed throughout the text, which give the text receiver the narrator's perspective on the participants' acts. Hence, subjective involvement is created in this text, for instance, through the questions and remarks addressed directly to the text receiver at crucial points in the story, or through the use of other evaluative elements, for instance, ***of course*** in episode 19, negation in e.g. episodes 19 or 31, expository clauses in e.g. episodes 19 or 29, and so forth (for ***evaluation***, see Labov 1977:366ff., cf. also Fleischman 1990:143ff.). All of these signals have an empathetic function. (For a discussion of ***empathy***, see also Kuno 1976; Kuno and Kaburaki 1977.)

In terms of *foregrounding* (see e.g. Wårvik 1990a), these adverbials do not normally move the temporally sequential story line forward. Instead, their foregrounding effect arises from deixis, the way in which they, through deviance from the expected paradigm, add to the *salience* (cf. Osgood 1980) of the actions and events that they introduce. For a discussion of two types of foregrounding and salience, see 8.1.

A closer look at the second sub-section of the final section reveals that episode 28 is marked by paragraph-initial direct speech and a full reference to the 'man'. After reference to the couple in the preceding sub-section, there is individualization at this point. After this short narrative passage involving participant continuity through the use of the man as the agent, the effect of the man's hammering and sawing and the cats' mewing on the woman's sleep is described in the highly evaluated episode 29, which has the effect of stretching out the event before the reaction part of the sub-story is to start (cf. also the alternative analysis in Note 51 on p. 175 above). The full NP (*the woman)* marks the shift (cf. the pronominal reference to the 'man' at this minor textual boundary).

Episode 30 is separated from episodes 28 and 29 by the temporal shift marker *in the morning*. This adverbial reintroduces into the narration the explicit global temporal TSC that surfaces regularly in the pre-peak episodes of the story. The continuous participant is here referred to by a pronoun as this is not a major boundary on the global level of the text and as there already is a temporal shift marker. Episode 30 is also rich in evaluative devices. The results of the two preceding episodes are revealed to the text receiver through the eyes of the woman. But the narrator again addresses the text receiver directly, encouraging her/him to participate actively and to see for her/himself what the character saw from her window.[54]

With episode 31 we enter the final scene of the story, where the man and the woman admit that they like the cats and that there is room for all of them in the garden. At the outset of episode 31 right dislocation is used (see CGEL:1310, 1416-1418). This device serves to give prominence to crucial elements. Thus, end-weight is given to the participants, *the man and the woman* - individualized through the use of the definite article in front of both of them. Further, right dislocation is a signal that has not been used at textual shifts earlier in the story, and it therefore marks this boundary as different from any of the preceding ones. Yet in terms of Givón's *topic-accessibility scale*, right-dislocated definite NPs end up between pronominal reference and the neutral-ordered definite-NP reference. The latter is situated in the middle of the scale (see Givón 1983a:17; 1983b:349, 352ff.). Thus, right dislocation here involves a more continuous set of participants than a full NP reference in subject position. The use of the pronoun points to continuity between the story-final episodes and the preceding ones in this section, making the shift to the final scene less abrupt.[55]

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[54] Cf. the use of the pronoun *you* in the story. Its basic function here is to make the text receiver emotionally involved in the story, and to adopt the narrator's evaluative point of view. *You* appears four times, always at a crucial point, see par. 4, 21-22, 29, and 44 (cf. also par. 30 and 52-54).

The contrast between the new situation in which the couple accepts the cats as permanent residents in the garden and the rest of the story is powerfully conveyed by the deictic time adverbial *this time* (cf. the discussion of deictic time adverbials on pp. 176-177, above). The final outcome of the story is developed with the help of this temporal signal, repeated four times at crucial points:

(44) They went into the garden - the man and the woman. *This time* he did not shout and stamp. *This time* she did not scold and swish her apron.

This time they said, " ---."

The cats sat and stared at them.

But *this time* their big, round, yellow-green eyes - SMILED! (CATS:31-32/55-58)

Episode 31 could, if one wished to do so, be divided into two sub-episodes. In that case, the paragraph-initial time adverbial *this time* would be interpreted as a shift marker. Its primary function, however, seems to be that of uniting the action sentence it introduces to the two preceding sentences starting with the same adverbial. A special effect is achieved through the parallel use of the initial adverbial in the *transformer* (Sternberg 1991:63) of par. 56 and in the two negated sentences at the end of the preceding paragraph. Emphasis lies here on the polarization of the couple's changed behaviour and its alternative, their earlier behaviour patterns. For the evaluative function of negation, see e.g. Labov 1977:380ff.; for the potential of negative events and actions, i.e. "nondoings", to be part of the story line, see van Dijk 1977:181-182; cf. also Note 53 on p. 177, above.[56]

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[55] This might be used as an argument against the alternative analysis of the story-final subsection presented in Note 51 on p. 175, above.

The last episode of the story is iconic of two previous ones that have appeared at crucial points leading towards the final situation, i.e. episodes 21 and 24 above (cf. also the discussion of the number three in 6.2.2.1. above, p. 140). Episode 32 is introduced by a break in participant continuity. It gives the cats' positive reaction to the new situation. The verb is commentized, see (44), above. The unusual placement of the short verb alone at the end of its sentence - and at the end of the story - is here used as a stylistic device to give it the maximal amount of end-weight. It is well separated from the rest of the sentence. The crucial character of this second action of episode 32 is also stressed by the initial *this time* (cf. the use of *then* in episodes 21 and 24). The repetition of this adverbial connects the cats' response to the couple's new attitude presented in the preceding episode. The use of *but*, together with the time adverbial *this time*, emphasizes the contrast between the outcome of the story and the situation at any earlier point.

After the detailed analysis of the four main sections of the story, we are now in a position to take another look at its various adverbials. Before that, however, some attention has to be paid to the development of tension in the story as a whole, as it seems to explain several aspects of the textual surface. A characteristic of the text producer's total text strategy, tension involves a use of concrete linguistic features to mark part of the text as its peak. Since adverbials of time play a crucial role in the overall organization of the narrative, they may be expected to be involved also in the development of tension. Let us now briefly view the story from this perspective (cf. 5.3.1., pp. 78, and 6.2.2.1., pp. 140ff., above; see Longacre 1983:22; for the locus of evaluation in relation to the peak of the story, see Fleischman 1990:144; cf. also Labov 1977:366ff.).

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[56] Time adverbials in direct speech are not analysed in this study, as pointed out earlier. A brief remark may, however, be in order here. If *now* is considered normative, not only in the speech time, but also in direct speech, it cannot have the expressive effect of emotional involvement gained through its marked use in narrative. In view of the story-final switch to deictic time adverbials in CATS, it is, however, obvious that the repetition of *now* in the speech of the couple also highly contributes to the effect gained by this use in the surrounding narrative passages. Consider, in this light, also its position in the sentence and the contrastive chain of *at first* and *now*.

The first two sections of the story were above seen to be text-structurally iconic. After the establishment of the setting of the story, they contain the pre-peak episodes. At the same time, both of them also have an internal narrative structure; they are sub-stories. In this sense, section two is slightly more climactic than section one. The local peak structure is signalled through non-adverbial devices.

At the beginning of section three, a total change of attitudes takes place, which further develops towards the end of the story. The main participants are individualized from this point onwards. More interestingly for the present study, however, the temporal TSC present in the first two sections of the text now becomes over-explicit. In the first sub-section of section three, the different steps are accentuated with the help of the episode-initial time adverbials. This systematic strategy changes the pace of narration here: we have entered the peak episodes. At the end of this sub-section, the pace is again slowed down to signal the local peak in the sub-story. The peak should not go by too quickly: the individual actions and events of the Friday passage are stretched out. The highpoint of this sub-story in episode 20 and its dénouement in episode 21 are marked with devices different from the preceding episodes. Here the temporal TSC becomes implicit.

Next, a short description takes place to give way for a partly iconic second sub-section. This prolonged shift brings the tension down, after the culmination of the first sub-section. *On Sunday* forms a link to the preceding series of episodes, but at the same time, it signals a new phase in the story (cf. the missing 'Saturday' and the textual distance between this signal and the preceding ones). After the shift, explicit time references disappear at this point, and direct speech suspends the narration and adds to the vividness of this climactic passage. The final two episodes in this sub-section are text-structurally iconic of those in sub-section one. What is interesting in the partly repetitive sub-section two is the actual result of the man's decision to be friendly with the cats and the form that the cats' expected reaction takes.

Section three is thus constructed with the help of two peaks. One of them takes place at the end of sub-section one, the other at the end of sub-section two. Narration has here shifted to a more specific person, first the woman and then the man. Next, sub-section three contains a temporary dénouement, after the gradually growing tension in the first two subsections. The temporal TSC surfaces to an extreme degree at the beginning of section three, to practically disappear after the prolonged shift to the second sub-section. The marking of shifts becomes different from the praxis so far, cf. the occurrence of direct speech paragraph-initially, the sole reliance on participant reference, the use of connectors, a different use of text types than in the first two structurally parallel pre-peak sections, and so forth. It is evident that the disappearance of the explicit temporal TSC here makes markers of this continuity all the more conspicuous once they reappear at the end of the story.

Thus, gradually the local peaks grow, to finally lead to the climax of the story in section four. This is the third effort that the couple makes in way of accepting the cats as permanent residents in their garden (cf. the number three, discussed in Note 32 in 6.2.2.1. above, p. 140). There is a long transitional passage at the boundary between sections three and four, starting in the last sub-section of section three and continuing in sub-section one in section four (for the temporal marker at the section boundary, cf. the discussion above[57]). After the prolonged shift - longer here than at the beginning of episode 22 - we eventually enter the peak'. Sub-section two in the final section resembles the two first sub-sections of section three. There are few explicit markers of time until the final dénouement of the story, which, in contrast, displays a conspicuous cluster of temporal signals. The post-peak episodes 31 and 32 are iconic of the end of subsections one and two in section three. Only this time, temporality has a crucial part in the signalling of the conclusion of the story. For a discussion of the deictic time adverbials, cf. pp. 176-177 above.

In the discussion of the four sections above, tension has on several occasions been claimed to account for a particular choice in textualization. Elaborating this somewhat sketchy presentation of the narrative organization of the story, it should be possible for the interested reader to trace such connections in greater detail in the text. It is evident that markers of the dominant TSC, which create cohesion and coherence and indicate boundaries between textual units, may at the same time assume other functions. They may contribute to the signalling of the peak, in ways outlined above. They are then involved in the creation of another profile parallel to the coherent, hierarchic structure of the narrative.

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[57] Cf. also 7.3.3.2. below (p. 297ff.) for the information status of the temporal markers at the beginning of sections 1, 3, and 4.

Let us now take a summarizing look at the global and local chains of temporal adverbials in the CATS text, the status of adverbials of duration and frequency, the occurrence of non-initial time adverbials, and finally, initial place adverbials in the text.

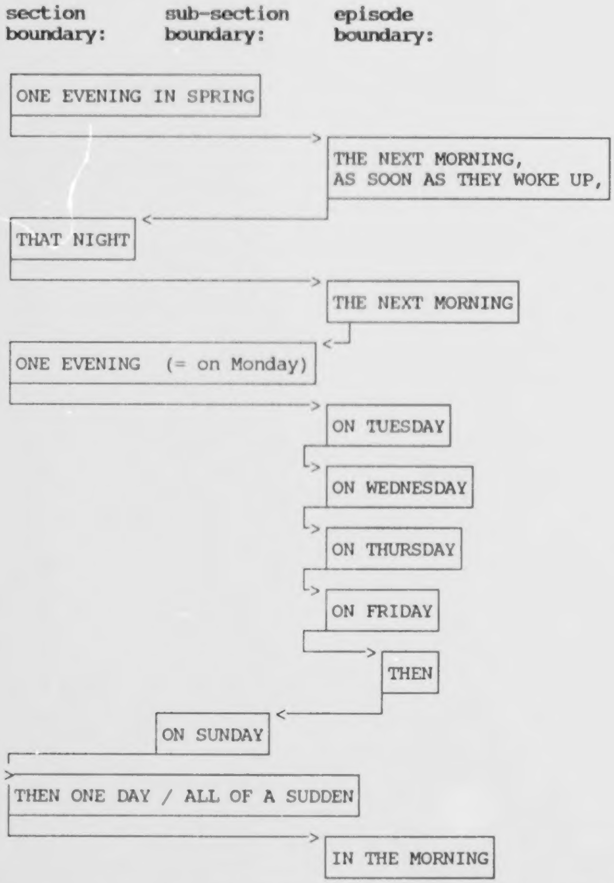
section boundary:
sub-section boundary:
episode boundary:
ONE EVENING IN SPRING
THE NEXT MORNING, AS SOON AS THEY WOKE UP,
THAT NIGHT
THE NEXT MORNING
ONE EVENING (= on Monday)
ON TUESDAY
ON WEDNESDAY
ON THURSDAY
ON FRIDAY
THEN
ON SUNDAY
THEN ONE DAY / ALL OF A SUDDEN
IN THE MORNING

Figure 14. ***The chain of text-strategic time 'when' adverbials marking boundaries between sections, sub-sections, and episodes in the CATS text.***

The temporal text-strategic continuity of the CATS text is realized through a series of implicit and explicit time expressions, mainly denoting 'point-of-time'. These form a chain that can be traced throughout the story. Whenever the main story line is developed - in the narrative passages of the text - clause-initial adverbials of definite time may function as markers of textual boundaries. Some work globally, others more locally. They indicate a shift to a new section, sub-section, episode, or move. All are, in one way or other, connected with the main temporally sequential story line. Consider Figure 14, above, which displays the time 'when' adverbials appearing at the beginning of new episodes and larger units.

Four main sections have above been distinguished in the text. The four section boundaries are where the adverbials in the left-hand column of Fig. 14 occur. The others appear on lower levels in the hierarchy, signalling the beginning of a new sub-section or episode (or sub-episode). All of the above adverbials are paragraph-initial.

When a new paragraph within an episode continues the development of the main temporally sequential story line, an implicit 'then' is usually enough. The same applies to episode-internal sentences or clauses. At some points in this story, however, an explicit *then* appears at the beginning of a new move.[58]

(45) The big cats had climbed over the fence. *Then* they had dug a new hole under the fence to let in the kittens that were still too little to climb so high. (CATS:11/23)

(46) The cats sat still and stared at her. *Then* they all CLOSED their big, round, yellow-green eyes. (CATS:21/35)

(47) The cats sat still and stared at him. *Then* - each one WINKED one big, round, yellow-green eye. (CATS:24/41)

Textual motivations for these instances have been given above. Focus on the last action or event in the flashback episode in (45) and in the two textually iconic passages of (46) and (47) is achieved with the help of the initially positioned adverbial *then*, which stresses the sequentiality of the individual actions or events.

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[58] Adverbials in direct speech have not been analysed, as pointed out above (see Note 32 in 6.2.2.1. above, p. 140, and Notes 44, 46, and 56, on pp. 159, 164, and 180 above). The following instances of temporal adverbials appear in direct speech in the text: the temporal/resultive *then* in episode 9 (par. 18), the two appearances of *today* in episodes 22 and 23 (par. 38 and 40), and the contrastive chain of *at first - now - now* in episode 31 (par. 56).

The story-final *this time* in the third of the iconic resolutions is reinforced by the contrastive conjunction *but*, which also marks this move as different from the preceding ones in the final scene starting with the identical adverbial, cf. (48), below.

(48) They went into the garden - the man and the woman. *This time* he did not shout and stamp. *This time* she did not scold and swish her apron.
This time they said," --- "
The cats sat and stared at them.
But this time their big, round, yellow-green eyes - SMILED! (CATS:31-32/55-58)

The deictic adverbials *now* and *this time*, which appear in the final part of the story, do not signal a movement of narrative time but rather suspend or conclude the temporal succession of the story line. They are, as we have seen, connected with personal involvement, evaluation, and the creation of tension. The repeated use of the deictic adverbial *this time* to introduce the story-final actions and events makes these more salient, and hence in this sense, foregrounded (cf. Note 53 on p. 177 above, and 8.1.). Contrasting the story-final situation with what precedes it, this adverbial at the same time signals that the narrative has come to an end. The temporal reference of deictic adverbials is subject to the narrative context.

Next, two adverbials of time occur in expository *because*-clauses. Their function is not to mark a move in the main story line; rather, they form a local link between the clause they appear in and the preceding one. These *because*-clauses give an explanation for the state of things described in the preceding sentence, and the semantically optional adverbials here emphasize the tie (for the functions of *now*, see also pp. 176-177 above). Moreover, these clauses attain a more independent character as they have been given the status of a sentence. At the same time, this brings the text nearer the conventions of spoken language.[59]

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[59] Other resemblances may also be found, cf. e.g. the use of right dislocation (see also CGEL:1310, 1416ff.).

(49) But they knew they were there. Because *now* they knew that the cats had no other place to go to. (CATS:27/46)

(50) And she could not sleep in the quiet in between. Because *then* she could hear the mewing of the cats in the cold quiet of the snow. (CATS:29/50)

Some of the sentence-initial adverbials in the text denote 'duration' or 'frequency'. They have thus not been included in the chain of adverbials indicating 'point-of-time' in Fig. 14. The above analysis, however, shows that such adverbials may also play an important part in text structuring. They may signal the beginning of a longer or shorter descriptive passage, embedded in a sub-story or appearing more independently between larger narrative units. Thus, both *all day* and *every day* in (51) and (52) mark a shift to a new, basically descriptive sub-section, cf. the discussion above. *Every night* in (53) signals a shift on the (sub-)episode-level. It occurs at the beginning of an expository passage which gives the background to the action that took place in the preceding episode.

(51) *All day* the cats played in the pretty garden. (CATS:5/10)

(52) *Every day* the cats played in the pretty garden. (CATS:12/24)

(53) *Every night* they had to look for left-overs that had been thrown away, for, since they had no home, they had no one to feed them. (CATS:8/15)

These adverbials do not belong to the text-strategic chain of definite time adverbials that structure the development of the main story line. They are, however, connected to that chain in the sense that the periods of time they refer to are situated between two reference points in time in the temporally sequential story line. These periods of time may, of course, also extend outside such reference points. Consider the position of these adverbials (in capitals, below) in the chain of temporally sequential adverbials of definite time in the story: *the next morning - ALL DAY* (in addition to the durative sense, this adverbial refers to 'that day', as the main participants of the story only knew about the existence of the cats in their garden that very morning; cf. also the following definite time adverbial) - *that night* - *EVERY NIGHT* (the frequentative sense extends to before and after 'that night') - *the next morning* - *EVERY DAY* (the frequentative sense refers to the time from that morning onwards; cf. also the following time 'when' adverbial) - *one evening*. In terms of grounding distinctions, adverbials of duration or frequency occurring in a text-strategically important position may signal the starting point of a backgrounded part in the narrative (cf. 8.1.). The descriptions or expositions that follow the initially placed adverbial in (51)-(53) remain outside the main temporally sequential story line.

Let us now take a brief look at the few adverbials of time which occur non-initially in their clauses. In terms of Firbas's classification, which will be discussed in 7.2.2. below, these express a *specification*. As such, they may be contrasted with the *adverbials of setting* that we have discussed so far (see e.g. Firbas 1986:48-51; cf. also Chafe 1984).

(54) That was *on Monday*. (CATS:14/27)

(55) On Friday, the mackerel in the market looked so firm and fresh that the woman completely forgot that they were having supper with friends *that evening*. (CATS:18/32)

(56) The cats began to be not quite so skinny, scraggly, scrawny, because the woman fed them *every day*. (CATS:25/43)

(57) He worked *all day*, hammering and sawing. He worked *almost all night*, too. (CATS:28/48)

Here we have two time adverbials denoting 'point-of-time', one indicating 'frequency', and two more denoting 'duration'. With the potential exception of the adverbial *on Monday* in (54), discussed on pp. 168-169 above, they are not text-strategically important, in the sense that they would function as signals of the global temporal TSC. Two of these adverbials appear finally in a sentence-final subordinate clause, the others in a main clause. *That evening* in (55) appears in a *that*-clause which is in itself embedded in a comparative construction (*so ADJ that*).[60] The second *that*-clause functions as a direct object in the higher *that*-clause. For all the subordination, the adverbial has here an important specifying status. The syntactically higher *that*-clause is highlighted through the comparative construction. Secondly, the sentence-final time adverbial *that evening* forms an anaphoric link from the end of the rhematic object clause to the text-strategically important adverbial *on Friday* at the beginning of the same sentence. The next text-strategic adverbial *then*, however, continues the temporal sequentiality from the entire incident told in episode 18 and from its last clause - a chain which *that evening* is not part of.

In the light of the above discussion of adverbials of duration and frequency, examples (56) and (57) are interesting. *Every day* occurs in a non-restrictive *because*-clause, the two durative adverbials, again, in two successive sentences. All of these have an important specificative function. *Every day* points at the frequent repetition of the woman's efforts to feed the cats - familiar to us from the first sub-section of section three. Temporally, *every day* takes place between the episode-initial time reference (at the beginning of sub-section three of section three) and the point-of-time indicated by the text-strategic *then one day* at the beginning of the next section. The durative adverbials in (57) stress and specify the length of time that passed while the man was working at his work-bench. They refer to the period of time between the *one day* of the beginning of section four and the *in the morning* at the beginning of episode 30. Unlike the durative and repetitive adverbials at the outset of sub-section two in sections one and two, these adverbials do not signal a textual shift but specify an episode-internal action, indicated in the clause.

Adverbials other than those indicating 'time' usually appear non-initially in this type of text. Attention has above been paid to two adverbials of place that occur initially in their clause and sentence. In the first paragraph of the text, *just outside their door* links its sentence to the rheme of the preceding sentence. In this way, the adverbial of specification in one sentence is picked out as the basis for the setting of the following sentence, creating a local spatial continuity in the passage which describes the locative setting of the story (cf. p. 158, above; for theme progression, see Enkvist 1973:132). *From their window* appears at the beginning of a paragraph which constitutes part of a prolonged shift (episode 22, par. 37). Its position has a crucial effect on the changing of the scene for a new sub-story. The preceding sub-section took place mainly in the garden, and ended in the first interactional episodes between the cats and the woman. With the initially placed locative, we are moved from the garden into the house, from where the primary actors of the story view the cats at a distance.

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[60] For the importance of comparative constructions of this type in the signalling of the textual organization in a narrative, see also 6.2.2.1., pp. 141, 144-145 above. Cf. also the initially-positioned adverbial *on Friday* and the full reference to the continuous participant (*the woman*) in the highlighted *that*-clause.

To sum up, the story displays a global temporal TSC, typically manifested through sentence-initial adverbials denoting 'point-of-time'. Other markers of textual shifts include full references to continuous participants (in the sense of shifts in participant continuity), breaks in participant continuity, comparative constructions of the type '*so ADJ that*', conjunctions, and sentence-initial direct speech. As adverbials of definite time have here a crucial role in the signalling of the temporal TSC, it is natural for the backgrounded descriptive or expository passages to be marked with the help of initially placed adverbials denoting 'duration' or 'frequency'. The temporal text strategy is indeed dominant in the text: a host of textual and discoursal tasks are fulfilled by initially placed adverbials of time. Adverbials other than those of time tend to occur non-initially. Similarly, when adverbials of time do not signal a textual shift, they appear non-initially. They then specify the verb of the clause, and they thus have a more restricted scope than the initially positioned adverbials.

Furthermore, there seems to be a tendency to signal major boundaries in the text with a cluster of markers, consisting typically of one or two clause-initial adverbials of time and a break or a shift in participant continuity. Minor boundaries, in contrast, are often signalled with the help of only one marker (usually either a temporal shift, or a break in participant continuity). This allows the text producer to create in the text an iconic reflection of the hierarchic relations, which s/he is obliged to present in the linear form. The text receiver profits from the explicit marking of major boundaries, which allows her/him to (temporarily) discard certain aspects of TSCs and reactivate others at the outset of a new textual unit. Conversely, the inheritance of aspects at minor boundaries forces the text receiver to keep them activated within a textual unit.

The use of explicit and implicit references to the temporal TSC has been noted to be, to a high degree, connected with the expression of tension in the narrative. At the peak, explicit temporal markers practically disappear, after having been regularly used in the pre-peak sections and to a growing degree even at the beginning of the peak episodes. They are to a large extent absent from the end of the first peak section (section three) onwards, to subsequently reappear towards the end of the story, in the peak' and post-peak episodes. Another device of interest in the peak and peak' episodes of the text is the prolonged textual shift, which allows the narrative time line to be stretched out.

After the investigation of the two sample narratives, let us now go on to the analyses of the two procedural place descriptions, selected for the purpose of illustrating the function of place adverbials as signals of a locative TSC.

6.2.3. Spatial continuity and place adverbials

In 6.2.2. above, the temporal TSC and its realization in text through clause-initial adverbials of time were discussed in the light of two sample texts. Two typical and perhaps even prototypical texts involving a spatial TSC will now be examined, to illustrate the textual function of initial positioning of place adverbials in such texts. The spatial TSC was introduced in 6.1.2.2. above (pp. 99-100), and it has been repeatedly pointed out above that adverbials of place often play a crucial part in the realization of this strategy. The sample texts have been introduced in Chapter 3 and further discussed in 5.3.2. above (p. 79ff.). The first one, "Guernsey Folk Museum" (*GFM* for short), is a distinct sub-text from a longer tourist-guide article. The second, "The Lanark route" (*EDIN* for short), is an entire guidebook article. The texts may be found in full in Appendix 1. In addition to the two sample texts, distance-based variants of the spatial TSC will be touched upon in 6.2.3.3., to conclude the present section. The type of locative reference used in such texts leads us to the interesting domain of spatio-temporal continuity.

Obviously, many different types of place descriptions would do as examples of the organization of text along spatial lines, e.g. stage directions, route descriptions, descriptions of landscape, apartments, furnishings, and so forth. In a discussion of the text strategy that lies behind a text, place descriptions must be distinguished from other kinds of description. Thus, unlike for instance descriptions of a person's character or clothing, the descriptions that are of interest here deal with spatial phenomena, and this is reflected in the text strategy.[61] Further, other types of text (e.g. expositions) may also deal with spatial phenomena. In view of the spatial TSC, then, place descriptions may have more in common with such texts than with other types of descriptions.

The space to be described is often mapped through references to certain parts of it, in a certain order. This is clearly apparent in the tourist-guide samples. The text receiver is systematically guided from one spot to another in a particular order. Once on a specific spot, s/he is shown the relevant sight and then provided with the pertinent information about the sight. Place descriptions tend to conform to a strategy that takes the text receiver on a mental "tour". This aspect of place descriptions will be further explored in 8.1. below (cf. also 6.1.2.2. above, p. 100).

Before going on to the in-depth analysis of the two spatially organized tourist-guide texts chosen for illustration, let me briefly consider a few different place descriptions of the scenery-type. The first is given in its entirety; the second and the third are excerpts from multitype texts that have a non-descriptive frame. With the exception of (59), the texts have a fixed rather than a moving observer. The locations are determined in relation to the observer, or to other fixed points. The strategy may still be seen to follow a certain "route", marked by locative expressions in clause-initial and sentence-initial position.[62]

(58) *Autobiography*

The first thing I can remember is a blue line. This was **on the left, where the lake disappeared into the sky**. *At that point* there was a white sand cliff, although you couldn't see it from where I was standing.

---

[61] Cf. Werlich's text typology, in which all descriptions basically deal with phenomena in space (Werlich 1976:39; cf. 5.3.2. above, pp. 80-81).

[62] The use of tenses in (58) invites a further analysis, which, however, falls beyond the scope of the present study. I am grateful to James Haines for sending Text (58) to me.

On the right the lake narrowed to a river and there was a dam and a covered bridge, some houses and a white church. *In front* there was a small rock island with a few trees on it. *Along the shore* there were large boulders and the sawed-off trunks of huge trees coming up through the water.

Behind is a house, a path running back into the forest, the entrance to another path which cannot be seen from where I was standing but was there anyway. *At one spot* this path was wider; oats fallen from the nosebags of loggers' horses during some distant winter had sprouted and grown. Hawks nested there.

Once, *on the rock island*, there was the half-eaten carcass of a deer, which smelled like iron, like rust rubbed into your hands so that it mixes with sweat. This smell is the point at which the landscape dissolves, ceases to be a landscape and becomes something else. (Atwood 1984:9)

(59) Then I went out to the edge of the coral. *Crawling slowly up and down over the sandy ripples of the sea's floor* was a hermit crab in a tall shell about five inches long. *Near the edge of the coral* there were shoals of parrot fish - one or two rainbow coloured males among a dozen drabber females. They flapped their wings up and down just like bright parrots. *Among them at the edge of the coral* were some even larger deeper fish with little horns above their eyes and snouts like pigs. Charles joined me out here and we looked at his watch and decided it was soon time to go back. (Scott 1983:77)

(60) The screen displays **a view of part of the bay, with you in your red boat on the water surface**. *Also on the surface* are two Portuguese Men-of-War, with tentacles trailing in the water. *At the bottom of the screen* you see the oysters, with pinkish shells. *Among them* are four giant clams. Three puffer fish swim continually **from right to left at different depths** and at different speeds. (Bishop 1983:125-126)

The chain of locative adverbials forms a TSC in these texts. At the same time, the individual adverbials mark shifts in the text. On the basis of the dominant spatial TSC steering these texts or text fragments, it is possible to label them *place descriptions*. As for text type, tourist-guide texts may also frequently be classed as descriptions (cf. (3) in 6.1.1., pp. 86-87, and (10) in 6.1.2.2. above, p. 99, and the sample texts below). It is, however, obvious from the above examples that, within the category of place descriptions, there is variation as to the discourse type that the different texts realize.

Tourist-guide texts realize the procedural or instructive type of discourse, as already stated in 5.3.2. above (p. 83). The close connection between descriptive or pseudo-procedural tourist-guide texts and the instructive or procedural texts proper is what distinguishes the two sample texts below from the descriptive texts above. Text (58), for instance, is not a descriptive realization of the instructive discourse type. Rather, the match of text type and discourse type must here be determined by the text receiver. In my interpretation, the descriptive discourse type gradually changes into a narrative one (cf. e.g. the temporal marker *once*, surfacing at the very beginning of the last paragraph), while the text type remains basically descriptive (cf. e.g. the locative marker *on the rock island* following the temporal marker). The description in (59), next, seems to realize the descriptive type of discourse. It is, however, closely connected with its narrative frame, visible in the first and last sentences of the extract (cf. the discussion of the status of embedded descriptions in unitype narratives in 5.2.2. above, p. 70). The embedded description in (60), finally, realizes expository discourse. The function of this part of the text is to explain the situation at the beginning of a computer game, before the instruction proper may start. Its frame text type is basically instructive.

It might, however, be argued that examples (58)-(60) differ from each other in the same way as the sample narratives in 6.2.2. differ, on the one hand, from the examples presented in 6.1.2.1. above (p. 92ff.), and on the other hand, from the text presented as (23) in 6.1.5.2. above (pp. 125-126). In the latter instance, the surface narrative realizes the expository type of discourse (cf. esp. Note 23 in 6.1.5.2., p. 125), while the fairy tales in 6.2.2. represent manifestations of the narrative discourse type. The sample narratives are *depicting*, whereas Text (23) is *informative* (see

Zolotova 1982:350).[63] The examples presented in 6.1.2.1. are situated somewhere between these two instances. These informative narratives differ from fairy tales in discourse function. At the same time, their discourse type seems to be closer to narrative than to exposition. Similarly, due to the close connection between narration and description, parallel types of description might be argued to exist. Hence, it might be said that (58) above realizes a depicting type of description, (59) and (60), again, an informative type. This difference thus lies on the level of the discourse function (cf. 4.1.). Further, in terms of the two-level typology, the discourse type of (58) and (59) might be interpreted as description, while that of (60) rather seems to represent an exposition.[64] Thus, (60) differs from the other two in manifesting a mismatch between text type and discourse type. It is also evident from the above examples that embedded types are to some degree affected by their frame.

The main concern of the present section on tourist-guide text is the informative type of description. It may display explicit markers of instructive or procedural text (cf. 6.1.2.5.). Thus, we may find verbs of motion in the imperative form (cf. (63) below), or a 'non-specific' *we*, *you*, or *one* as a subject of a motion verb, especially in the parts giving route directions, cf. (61)-(63), and examples (87)-(89) in 6.2.3.3. below, pp. 220-223, and (99)-(100) in 6.3.3. below, p. 254.

(61) *We* leave to the l. the suburb of Engomi (a village dating from c. 1567) and then Strovolos, both on the W. bank of the Pedieos.
Near the old village centre of the latter, on the site of Panayia Khryseleousa, Henry II of Cyprus died at his residence in 1324--- (Robertson 1981:100)

(62) From the monastery *one* may continue to climb S., skirting the E. slope of Mt Kionia--- (Robertson 1981:103)

---

[63] I am grateful to Martina Björklund for bringing to my attention and translating Zolotova's classification of the different registers of language, based on the manner in which reality is mirrored in the text.

[64] As will be remembered from Chapter 5 above, not all typologists distinguish the descriptive type of text or discourse. In the present study, this type of text has been found useful, on the grounds of the concrete linguistic features typically present on its textual surface. Further, the two-level typology, by definition, assumes the existence of a series of similar concepts on two different levels, and the notion of a descriptive type of discourse seems perfectly acceptable in that context.

(63) *Turn* right on to the levada and *head* north to reach the tiny hamlet of 'upper Tábua' - *you*'ll be nearing it when *you* pass through a sugar cane grove. *You*'ll have to ford two very wet spillways where the river crosses the levada: at the second, *you* are in Tábua--- (Underwood and Underwood 1980:47)

The prototypical tourist-guide text thus turns out to exemplify diversity in the two-level typology within the framework outlined in Chapters 4 and 5: the procedural or instructive type of discourse is here realized through a descriptive type of text.

6.2.3.1. GFM

In the light of the locative TSC, "Guernsey Folk Museum" might be characterized as a near-prototype text of its kind. This continuity is here typically realized through the systematic positioning of adverbials denoting place and other locative expressions at the beginning of the clause. Such a chain of locative expressions, or *locatives* for short, structures the text by giving it cohesion. At the same time, these locatives segment the text, as each new initially placed locative indicates a shift in the text, a *move* (see 6.2.1. above, pp. 129-134).

To start with text segmentation, Figure 15, on p. 196, indicates the hierarchy of *sections* and *sub-sections* and different types of *moves* in the GFM text. In line with the diagrams representing the sample narratives in 6.2.2. above, the figures in this section too, carry transparent content-based labels for ease of reference. The moves of the Guernsey text are indicated by numbers in Figure 15.

Moves are regarded as the basic textual units of the text. They are further segmentable into smaller parts, such as the *location*, *sight(s)*, and *information concerning the sight(s)*, cf. (64), below. But for the present purpose, the level of moves is delicate enough.

(64) *Opposite the front door* is a glass case containing a large china doll in christening robes, a christening cushion, capes, bonnets and silver. (GFM:2)[65]

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[65] References are made to moves, see Appendix 1.

Further, several levels of moves may here be distinguished. *Minor moves* lead the text receiver from one point to another e.g. within the same room. *Mid-moves* are mostly moves from one room to another, while *major moves*, finally, involve a larger move still, for instance, to another floor. On a higher level, the text may be divided into two *main sections*, i.e. the museum itself and its surroundings. The main building, the secondary building, and the central courtyard form the three *sub-sections* of the first section. These latter divisions might also be included in the *major-move* category. The three levels of moves will be further discussed in 7.3.3.3. below, in connection with information dynamics.

Like the analyses in 6.2.2. above, Fig. 15 reflects textual units, rather than syntactic sentences or typographic paragraphs. In this text, moves typically consist of one long descriptive sentence, or of two or more shorter ones. And the text consists of three paragraphs but could easily have a different division as well. As Longacre (1979:115-116) points out, "the paragraph indentations of a given writer are often partially dictated by eye appeal." And eye appeal is related to genre or text-typological tradition: cf. e.g. short paragraphs in popular newspapers. In the present instance, a break seems to be made at a convenient point when the text is simply too long to constitute just one paragraph. On the other hand, the second paragraph is given as one typographical unit, instead of indenting it for instance at the beginning of the major moves. But this would have

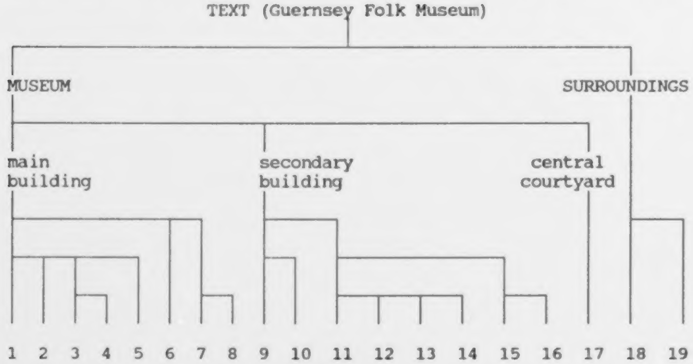

Figure 15. ***Text segmentation of the GFM text.*** **To start from the top, the text is divided into *sections, sub-sections, major moves, 'room-to-room' or mid-moves*, and *minor moves*. The bottom-line numbers refer to moves.**

led to a series of very short paragraphs, such as the last paragraph of the text.[66] For further discussion of typographical paragraphs, see e.g. Brown and Yule 1983:95ff.; cf. also 6.2.1. above (p. 129ff.), and 6.2.4. below (p. 225ff.).

With the help of the text, the text receiver is guided to the relevant areas of the museum following a certain path. Whenever s/he is supposed to move to a new point on the route, a locative is positioned initially in that particular sentence or clause. Thus, the chain of these locatives is used to structure the text and to indicate the order in which the different parts of the museum and the items displayed in them should be seen. At each stop the text receiver is taken to, s/he is shown what to appreciate at that particular point. Next, s/he is usually given some information about the sight. Consider (64) above, p. 195, which illustrates a typical move. In the second sample text, we shall see that another purpose of taking the text receiver to a particular spot may be that of giving her/him further instructions concerning the route (cf. e.g. move 6 in the EDIN text).

The text follows *experiential iconicity* (Enkvist 1981; cf. 6.1.2.1. above, p. 93, and 8.1. below). In instructive text, experiential iconicity tends to predetermine text organization. A successful guidebook text follows a certain order of presentation, so that the reader is not bothered with a number of intolerably cumbersome returns to previous sections of the text (witness, for instance, a recipe not following the natural order of the different steps). A fundamental characteristic of guidebook text is thus maximal reader orientation.

Each move starts with an initial locative. These mark new sections or moves in the text much in the same way as signals of a temporal TSC mark textual shifts in narratives (cf. also 6.1.1.1., pp. 88-91, for the discussion of *shifts* and *breaks* in TSC). The locative TSC is typically exposed on the textual surface through a chain of clause-initial and sentence-initial adverbials of place, as in (64) above (p. 195), or in (65), below. Such a chain of text-strategically important locatives may, however, also include non-adverbial markers. Other alternatives are a locative NP as the subject of a verb of the type *have*, *display*, *offer*, cf. (66), or a non-finite clause including a V^1 locative, cf. (67). Still another way of marking a new move is a clause with a verb of motion (usually in the imperative), followed by one or two V^1 locative adverbials or NPs, cf. (68a) and (68b), which are examples from the GFM frame text (cf. also examples (61)-(63) in 6.2.3. above, p. 194-195). This type of clause is obviously connected with route instructions. Thus, it typically appears in longer tourist-guide texts dealing with walks, car tours, and so forth (cf. also move 11 in EDIN, see 6.2.3.2. below, pp. 210-211).

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[66] Contrasting French and English rhetoric, Judge and Healey (1983:437-441) point out that longer blocks of text are favoured by the English as they are considered more readable than very short paragraphs. A quick look at a number of comparable texts in ***Blue Guides*** and ***Guide Bleus***, and of recipes in various cookery books in the two languages, seems to confirm this. For a discussion of the typographic paragraph in these two languages, see also Régent 1985, especially concerned with medical articles. It is obvious that both languages manifest variation in paragraphing conventions in terms of text type and genre.

(65) *In the central courtyard* is a collection of farming implements, including a hay loader and a barrel cart. (GFM:17)

(66) *Another wall displays* agricultural hand tools including wooden hayforks. (GFM:14)

(67) *Leading from the courtyard* is the CART ROOM with a collection of horse-drawn vehicles including--- (GFM:6)

(68) a. Leave St Peter by St Julian's Avenue, through College St. bear r. into Grange Road. At the top of Grange Rd, go straight on and--- (McGregor Eadie 1981:68)

b. Turn r. at the crossroads and continue N. for Saumarez Park along Les Deslisles (St George's Rd). 3/4 km on the l. is **St George's Manor**, one of the loveliest old manor houses in Guernsey. (McGregor Eadie 1981:69)

Several major moves are introduced with the help of two subsequent sentence-initial locatives: *from the entrance, on the r.* (move 1), *upstairs, in the Plough Room* (move 7), *across the yard, opposite the entrance* (move 9), or *upstairs, in the Tool Room* (move 11). These follow the order from the general to the particular. Move 6 is distinguished from the others by a different marker (cf. (67) above). The major moves 17, 18, and 19, finally, are not doubly marked. Move 17 starts with a place that the visitor is already supposed to know (see *in the central courtyard* in (65) above; cf. *leading from the courtyard* in move 6, and *across the yard* in move 9). One adverbial is here enough to locate the placement of the items displayed. Moves 18 and 19 are introduced by locative NPs. Finally, the mid-moves and the minor moves of this text are always signalled with the help of a single locative. Usually this is an adverbial but a few locative NPs also occur.

The following list of the strategic locatives in the GFM text displays the main chain which includes the major moves, and sub-chains structuring more limited spaces. Alternatively, these moves could be regarded as part of a single chain as they are all stops on the route that the reader is supposed to follow to see the museum. This is represented by the continuous line in the diagram.

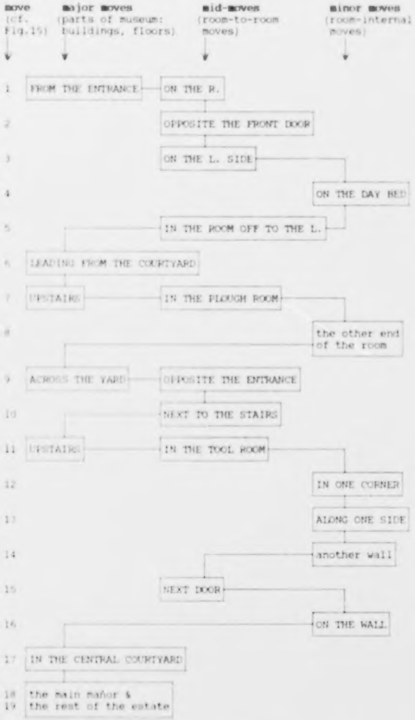
move (cf. Fig.15)
major moves (parts of museum: buildings, floors)
mid-moves (room-to-room moves)
minor moves (room-internal moves)
1
FROM THE ENTRANCE
ON THE R.
2
OPPOSITE THE FRONT DOOR
3
ON THE L. SIDE
4
ON THE DAY BED
5
IN THE ROOM OFF TO THE L.
6
LEADING FROM THE COURTYARD
7
UPSTAIRS
IN THE PLOUGH ROOM
8
the other end of the room
9
ACROSS THE YARD
OPPOSITE THE ENTRANCE
10
NEXT TO THE STAIRS
11
UPSTAIRS
IN THE TOOL ROOM
12
IN ONE CORNER
13
ALONG ONE SIDE
14
another wall
15
NEXT DOOR
16
ON THE WALL
17
IN THE CENTRAL COURTYARD
18
19
the main manor &
the rest of the estate

Figure 16. ***The taxonomy of moves in the GFM text as indicated by locatives.*** **Clause-initial adverbials of place are in capitals, locative NPs in lower case.**

The above chain of text-strategic elements in the GFM text will be of further interest as an attempt will be made in Chapter 7 to relate the informational status of the text-strategic locatives to this hierarchy of shifts.

The strategy of marking moves with clause-initial locatives is obviously not used when no further move is aimed at. The GFM text contains one clause-final locative adverbial, *nearby* in move 3:

(69) On the l.side is a VICTORIAN BEDROOM with models of a farmer's wife in a half tester bed with her new baby. Her small son and the midwife stand *nearby*. All are dressed in period clothes. (GFM:3)

Nearby in (69) does not indicate a new move as it is possible to contemplate all the models, grouped together in the text by being named one after the other, from the same spot. The following minor move 4 (*on the day bed)* again involves a slight change in the position of the text receiver or the direction in which s/he is facing.

The initial place adverbial in the move clause is typically valency-bound to a "pivotal" *be*, whose two poles easily change places, or "swivel" (Enkvist 1987a:20). Therefore, out of context, one could as well say (70a) as (70b).

(70) a. *Next door* is the Cider Barn.
b. The Cider Barn is *next door*.

V^1 adverbials usually occur verb-finally (see 2.4. above, p. 24-26), and the motivation for the recurrent initial positioning here is to be sought in the spatial text-strategic continuity chosen in this type of text. The text would obviously turn into something completely different if these adverbials of place appeared finally in their clauses. Then the text would strike us as a description of the relative location of the different rooms and items, whose existence the text receiver is already supposed to know, rather than a guidebook text explaining what kinds of rooms and items there are in the museum. This may become clearer through a textual experiment. A text describing an ordinary apartment with a bizarre arrangement of ordinary furnishings might have the following form:

(71) They have all the usual pieces of furniture, but they have placed them so that you never know whether you are in the living-room, kitchen, bathroom, and so on. All their book-shelves, for example, are *in the kitchen*, as they mostly contain cookery books. The kitchen table is *in the bedroom*, they sleep *in the living-room*, and the TV set is - can you imagine - *in the bathroom*. What is even more puzzling is that the kitchen is *upstairs*, even though the bedroom, which is more or less their dining-room, is *downstairs*. I could go on like this, so you see what I mean!

Here, then, sentences begin with items of furniture, ending with their locations. The continuity chosen in a text has above been likened to-a vertical thematic or topical text-uniting line running right through the text or part of a text (cf. 6.1.1. above, p. 85). It is natural to start the clause or the sentence containing a textual shift with the element that belongs to the line of items that form continuity in the text. In GFM, as we have seen, locations are therefore expressed before sights. In (71), again, the different items of furniture form topic continuity. Cf. also Chapter 7.

Sometimes, in even more condensed tourist-guide texts, the verb *be* is omitted altogether, and we find just a comma, or some other sign of punctuation if any, between the locative and for instance an NP indicating a sight:

(72) Returning to the W end of the cathedral by the N Nave Aisle, we can now begin to look at the monuments, eloquent of British history. *In the first recess*, 'Two Angels at the Gate of Death' by C. Marochetti, in memory of Viscount Melbourne (1779-1848) and his brother. *On the wall*, Lord Roberts (1833-1914), bust by John Tweed. *In the next recess*, General Gordon (1833-85), and *in the last recess* Lord Leighton (1830-96), the painter. *Beneath the arch opposite Gordon's monument* is the massive Monument of Wellington (1769-1852), by Alfred Stevens. (Spence 1984:62)

The function of *be*, and other similar verbs, in clauses such as *next to the stairs is a wash house* is more or less equivalent to that of a sign of punctuation. The verb separates the sight from its location and thus prevents a *garden path* reading (see Clark and Clark 1977:80-82) in this type of heavily condensed text, cf. (72), above. The first occurrence of the copula establishes the time reference of the text. It refers, however, to a generic time rather than to any particular present. Thus, the text would be similarly interpreted when used as a guide even if the tense were the simple past (travelogue form), or the future (cf. the more personal guidebook text (63) in 6.2.3. above, p. 195, directed to a 'non-specific' *you).*

To compare with each other chains of clause-initial or sentence-initial adverbials or other expressions of time and place which realize the temporal or spatial TSCs, the temporal TSC can remain implicit as long as the text is iconic of the event-time, and no other function is connected to the marker. As regards the spatial TSC, however, there is no corresponding implicit 'then'. Therefore, the locative text-strategic continuity seems to require a more frequent use of explicit markers.

In a tourist guide, the spatial TSC merges with the temporal TSC. In such a blend, the least implicit organizing principle is likely to be made into a dominant strategy. The other principles become redundant after this text-strategic choice and may remain implicit if they have no other function in the given discourse. Spatiality is chosen here because it best serves the purpose of guiding us around by taking us to spot after spot in a certain order, and by indicating, once we are on the right spot, what to pay attention to. Also, spatiality is here so closely connected with the sight itself and its taxonomy and with the "natural" temporal sequentiality of the text that it would be uneconomical to also express the temporal TSC explicitly. A less condensed text on the same subject might, of course, display other continuities as well, e.g. explicit temporality, and thus have for instance the following form:

(73) The museum is sited in two different buildings. First, we enter the main building. Then we turn to the right of the entrance and find a Guernsey kitchen, which is from a hundred years ago. In the kitchen there is---

The crucial locatives of the condensed text are in this diluted example first introduced as new elements in their clauses, in the same way as the sights in the subsequent clauses (cf. Chapter 7). In spoken discourse, spatial texts such as route instructions and place descriptions in fact have a better chance of getting realized as narratives or pseudo-narratives, with explicit temporal expressions introducing new moves, though the texts are still often interspersed with locative markers at the shifts where time is left implicit (cf. also the discussion in 6.2.2.1. above, p. 142, esp. Note 35). An authentic example of an oral description of spatial relationships may be taken from the data presented in Linde and Labov 1975. The description, given here as (74), is of an apartment.

(74) You walked in the front door. There was a narrow hallway. To the left, the first door you came to was a tiny bedroom. Then there was a kitchen, and then bathroom, and then the main room was in the back, living room, I guess.
(Linde and Labov 1975:927)

To conclude, GFM may be regarded as a prototype example of a text steered by a locative or spatial text-strategic continuity. This continuity is typically materialized through a chain of clause-initial adverbials of place, interspersed with a few locative NPs. The spatial TSC is here systematic, dominant, and global. *Systematic* refers to the stereotyped use of clause-initial locatives to mark moves. As we have seen, such elements are placed clause-finally when no moves on the part of the text receiver are aimed at. Secondly, the locative continuity is here *dominant*, as it is the main explicitly realized continuity in the text. Finally, we have also seen that it is *global*, i.e. it runs through the entire text.

Further, we have seen that a text of this kind more readily manifests a spatial TSC when both time and place are involved, because temporality can be inferred. This is of importance in a condensed tourist-guide text, where an explicit temporal TSC would be uneconomical as it would make the text needlessly longer. The potential implicitness of temporality in a text that follows experiential iconicity also accounts for the larger number of explicit markers of the TSC in a place description than in a narrative.

6.2.3.2. EDIN

Our next example, EDIN, is a much longer and more complex text than the GFM sample analysed above. It is interesting primarily because it differs from GFM in indicating a route in a city, Edinburgh. The reader is here, too, led along a route, and as the route passes important buildings, such as manors, museums, or churches, a more local spatial continuity may occur (cf. the chains of locative expressions in the GFM text indicating the sights within a certain part of the museum or within a room, or the local temporal chains of the type *first - then - then* in BEARS, as opposed to the main chain of text-strategic signals). In general, however, the content of this kind of text is less taxonomic than that of a text guiding the reader within a locality such as a museum. Therefore, the text must be divided into a large number of small units, rather than a few larger ones (cf. the sections, sub-sections, and different levels of moves in GFM).

Below, the text is segmented to a level where adverbials play the important role of starters of new moves. Only two levels of moves, major and minor, have been distinguished but it is, of course, also possible to discern intermediate levels of moves, as will become evident in the following discussion. Minor moves are typically part of a major move, and they form local continuity in the text. Usually the markers of minor moves inherit aspects from the rheme part of the preceding higher-level move clause or sentence, or else, from the preceding higher-level locative. Such issues will be the concern of 7.3.3.4. below (see p. 301ff.). The three or four sections outlined in Fig. 17 will be further dealt with shortly.

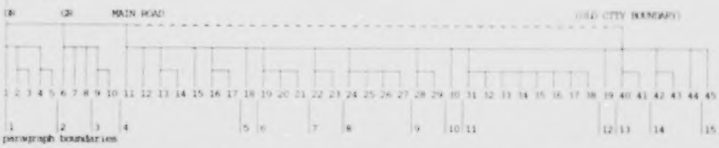

Figure 17. ***Text segmentation of the EDIN text.*** **To start from the top, the text is here divided into *sections*, *major moves*, and *minor moves*. Moves are indicated by numbers from 1 to 45. For the sake of clarity, paragraph boundaries have been included, see the bottom-line numbers. (DR = Dalry Road; GR = Gorgie Road.)**

For the sake of clarity, paragraph boundaries of this long text are also displayed in Fig. 17. The text consists of 15 typographical paragraphs. These may give some indication as to the division of the text into content-based sections and sub-sections (cf. e.g. the discussion in Brown and Yule 1983:99; Stark 1988). In a text of this length paragraphing presumably has an important function. At some points, such as the boundary between par. 4 and 5, the principles of paragraph division seem similar to those of the GFM text. A new paragraph might here have been started simply at a convenient point where the text fragment became too long to constitute just one paragraph. Eye appeal cannot, however, remain the only motiv- ation that a professional writer has for paragraphing. Therefore it will be of interest to pay attention to paragraph-initial and paragraph-internal moves also from the viewpoint of text-strategic locatives.

Let me again list the moves indicated by text-strategic locatives. Most of the moves are marked with a place adverbial (e.g. move 8) or a cluster of two such adverbials (e.g. moves 2 and 7) at the beginning of the clause or sentence in which they occur. A few non-initial adverbials also appear in the list (indicated by capital letters in parentheses). These will be discussed below in connection with the respective moves. Some moves begin with a locative NP (e.g. move 39). In this text, locative NPs function as the subject of the verbs *have, lead to, pass,* and *contain* (cf. similar instances in the GFM text, above).

At some minor moves, the nominal theme of the clause or sentence is enough for the reader to interpret the move. The information status of such move-marking nominal themes resembles that of most text-strategic locative adverbials or NPs (cf. the discussion in Chapter 7, below). In the present analysis they have been separated from locative NPs for the following reasons. Such nominal themes express a new sight, thus breaking the - typically local - topic continuity of the passage. They regularly appear with the verb *be,* and the sentence may in fact be analysed as a condensed instance of a move-marking clause and a descriptive clause, cf. (75a) and (75b) below. Conversely, the locative NP is just another way of marking a move in the spatial TSC chain. It may easily be paraphrased with a place adverbial without further changes in the number of clauses, cf. (76a) and (76b).

(75) a. *No. 53, Slateford House, now an architect's office,* is 18th century. (EDIN:8/27)[67]

b. At No. 53 is Slateford House, which is now an architect's office. It is 18th century.

(76) a. *Currie village has* an attractive row of early 19th-century cottages in the main street adjoining the Riccarton Arms, and there is a Georgian style parish church of 1785. (EDIN:14/32)

b. In Currie village there is an attractive row of---

Thus, though the sight, expressed in the nominal theme in a copular clause[68] in (75a), is semantically a locative as well, it marks the move by a break in the (local) topic continuity (cf. par. 8 and 11). Accordingly, such instances will below be termed *new topics*. In contrast, what I have referred to as *locative NPs* indicate shifts in the spatial continuity. The fact that the global spatial continuity in this type of text easily merges with the global topic continuity does not make this distinction non-existent, as shown by the paraphrases given above. Further, a comparison of move-marking new topics and locative NPs shows that the former always incorporate a locative element: a non-initial adverbial of place, as in moves 14 and 17, a locative adjective, as in moves 25 and 26, or the address of the sight indicated in the form of the number of the house in the street, cf. moves 27, 32-38. Locative NPs do not need these signals; they mark the move through the NP-element. Thus, we may conclude that the distinction between these two types of move markers is not redundant here. New topics tend to occur at minor moves.

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[67] Reference is made first to the paragraph and then to the move within which the clause or sentence may be found. Hence, in (75a), *8/27* stands for 'paragraph 8, move 27'. See Appendix 1.

[68] See CGEL:1170ff.

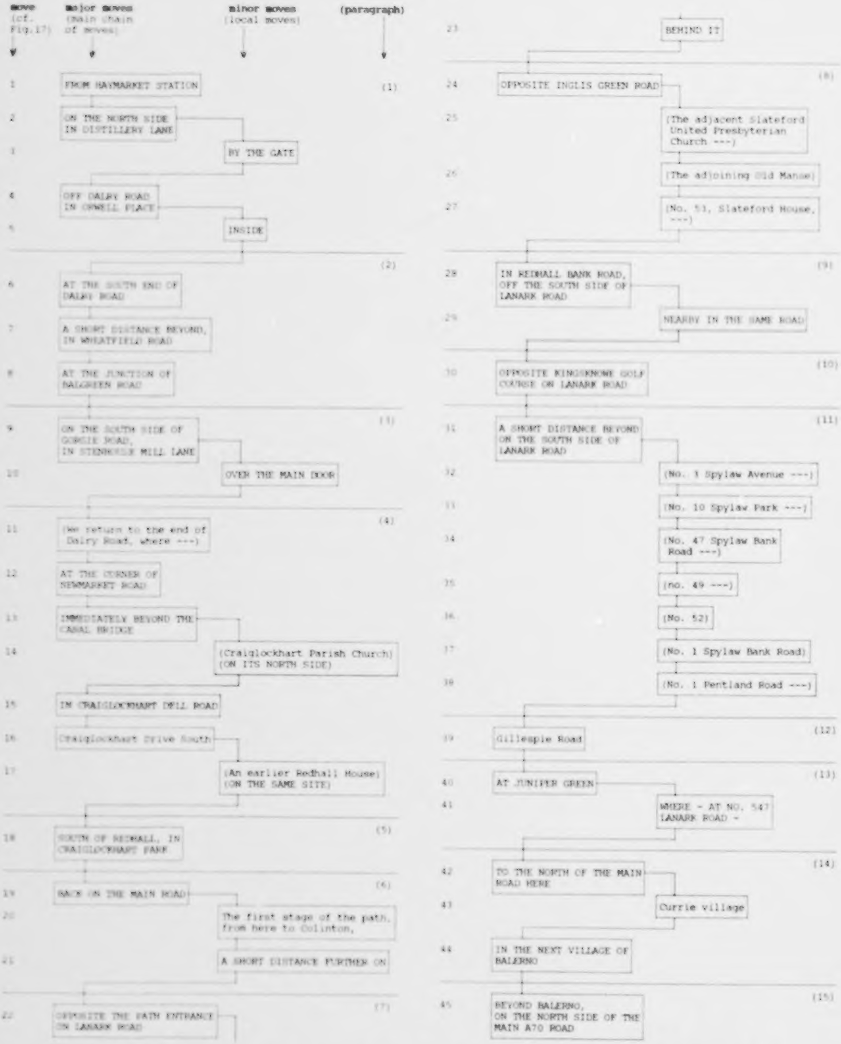
move (cf. Fig.17)
major moves (main chain of moves)
minor moves (local moves)
(paragraph)
1
FROM HAYMARKET STATION
(1)
2
ON THE NORTH SIDE IN DISTILLERY LANE
3
BY THE GATE
4
OFF DALRY ROAD IN ORWELL PLACE
5
INSIDE
(2)
6
AT THE SOUTH END OF DALRY ROAD
7
A SHORT DISTANCE BEYOND, IN WHEATFIELD ROAD
8
AT THE JUNCTION OF BALGREEN ROAD
(3)
9
ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF GORGIE ROAD, IN STENHOUSE MILL LANE
10
OVER THE MAIN DOOR
(4)
11
(We return to the end of Dalry Road, where ---)
12
AT THE CORNER OF NEWMARKET ROAD
13
IMMEDIATELY BEYOND THE CANAL BRIDGE
14
(Craiglockhart Parish Church) (ON ITS NORTH SIDE)
15
IN CRAIGLOCKHART DELL ROAD
16
Craiglockhart Drive South
17
(An earlier Redhall House) (ON THE SAME SITE)
(5)
18
SOUTH OF REDHALL, IN CRAIGLOCKHART PARK
(6)
19
BACK ON THE MAIN ROAD
20
The first stage of the path, from here to Colinton,
21
A SHORT DISTANCE FURTHER ON
(7)
22
OPPOSITE THE PATH ENTRANCE ON LANARK ROAD
23
BEHIND IT
(8)
24
OPPOSITE INGLIS GREEN ROAD
25
(The adjacent Slateford United Presbyterian Church ---)
26
(The adjoining Old Manse)
27
(No. 51, Slateford House, ---)
(9)
28
IN REDHALL BANK ROAD, OFF THE SOUTH SIDE OF LANARK ROAD
29
NEARBY IN THE SAME ROAD
(10)
30
OPPOSITE KINGSKNOWE GOLF COURSE ON LANARK ROAD
(11)
31
A SHORT DISTANCE BEYOND ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF LANARK ROAD
32
(No. 3 Spylaw Avenue ---)
33
(No. 10 Spylaw Park ---)
34
(No. 47 Spylaw Bank Road ---)
35
(no. 49 ---)
36
(No. 52)
37
(No. 1 Spylaw Bank Road)
38
(No. 1 Pentland Road ---)
(12)
39
Gillespie Road
(13)
40
AT JUNIPER GREEN
41
WHERE - AT NO. 547 LANARK ROAD -
(14)
42
TO THE NORTH OF THE MAIN ROAD HERE
43
Currie village
44
IN THE NEXT VILLAGE OF BALERNO
(15)
45
BEYOND BALERNO, ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE MAIN A70 ROAD

Figure 18. ***The taxonomy of moves in the EDIN text as indicated by locatives.*** **Locative adverbials are in capitals, locative NPs and new topics in lower case. New topics, and move 11, are in parentheses. Capitals in parentheses indicate non-initial adverbials. The horizontal lines are paragraph boundaries. Cf. also Fig. 17, above.**

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Let us now discuss the text in its linear order, starting from paragraph one.

PARAGRAPHS 1 - 3

Paragraph one starts from *Haymarket station* and follows *Dairy Road* passing *Distillery Lane* and *Orwell Place*. The first move consists entirely of route instruction. Being the starting point of the tour, it begins with a place adverbial denoting 'direction', and more specifically, 'source'. The two other major moves in this paragraph are each indicated by a cluster of two locative markers. The first of these relates to the main road which the reader is supposed to follow. The second locative refers to the more precise location that s/he is guided to. The distance from the preceding reference may have motivated the explicit mentioning of the main road in move 4. Moves 3 and 5 are minor moves, taking place within the sight that the preceding major move has lead the reader to. Thus, the sights are visited starting from the main building or the outside, and proceeding to the other buildings or the inside (cf. also the discussion in 8.1. below).

The text-initial move consists of route instruction. It might be interpreted as a subsidiary move, in the sense that its function is to instruct the text receiver so that s/he can find the more important moves which guide her/him to the different sights on the way. The goal of the text is to lead the reader to particular spots, in order to show her/him particular sights and provide her/him with information about these sights. But at some points, route instructions are needed for the tourist to be able to figure out the route to the next stop. Hence, a move containing route instruction is in itself subsidiary in guiding the text receiver to a particular sight; route instructions are needed for the text to fulfil its function. Yet locatives marking this type of subsidiary moves also belong to the chain of text-strategic items. They are stops on the same route, which the reader is supposed to follow. Thus, they are not textually "subsidiary" or subordinate.

Subsidiary moves also seem to have the textual function of indicating sections above the level of moves. In this text, long route instructions appear at the beginning of par. 1, 2, 4, and 13. Hence, section one would consist of the first paragraph of the text, and deal with the sights surrounding Dalry Road. The second and third paragraphs would form the second section, guiding the reader to a few sights close to Gorgie Road. The third section would start from par. 4 and go on till the end of the text, or at least until par. 13. At the beginning of par. 4 the reader is guided back to the main road, and though many of the subsequent sights involve asides, the connecting line from here onwards is the main Lanark Road. Move 40 in par. 13 contains an embedded local move, numbered 41. The main move introduces the entrance to Currie village and thus out of the city proper. In addition to these four section-initial moves containing route instructions, the paragraph-internal major move 13 contains information about the route, rather than about a sight. It will be further discussed below.

After the text-initial instruction, the subsequent sentence-initial adverbials in paragraph one thus indicate moves that guide the reader directly to the various sights. Move-internal clauses and sentences, containing descriptive statements, are typically characterized by a local topic continuity: *Caledonian Distillery - it* - (by the gate) / *Dalry House - the house* - (inside) - *the house*. It is within these chains of a continuous topic that the minor moves are inserted, an aspect reflected in the information status of these locative adverbials (cf. 7.3.3.4. below, p. 301ff.). Cf. also par. 3, which contains a local move marked with the clause-initial adverbial *over the main door*.

The only clause-initial time adverbial of the text occurs in this passage:

(77) *When built* it (=the Caledonian Distillery) contained the largest whisky still in Scotland. (EDIN:1/2)

As has been pointed out above, experiential iconicity is expected in this type of instructive text. Therefore, chronological time need not be indicated in any explicit manner (by e.g. *then)* but deviations from it must obviously be marked. The sentence in (77), above, refers to an earlier point of time. The initially placed time adverbial thus has a flagging effect for the reader. The sentence-initial temporal marker is later reinforced by the change in the tense of the verb. *When built* refers to the year 1855, mentioned in the previous sentence. Thus, it also forms an anaphoric link, by being informationally inferrable from the preceding text (cf. Chapter 7).

At the beginning of paragraph two the reader is again informed about the route itself. After that two sights are first pointed out, and a more important third one in a paragraph of its own. The moves are marked by initially-positioned adverbials of place, or clusters of such adverbials. Where two adverbials cooccur, the first refers to the main route and the second indicates the location of the sight in another road. Paragraph three starts with an explicit reference to the main road, Gorgie Road, introduced in the first move of paragraph two (cf. also the distance from the previous reference and the risk of ambiguity). The text-strategic clusters in this passage include: *on the north side in Distillery Lane* (move 2); *off Dalry Road in Orwell Place* (move 4); *a short distance beyond, in Wheatfield Road* (move 7); *on the south side of Gorgie Road, in Stenhouse Mill Lane* (move 9). In the instances where one text-strategic locative marks the major move, the implication is that the reader follows the main road unless otherwise instructed. Therefore, *at the junction of Balgreen Road* in move 8 is interpreted as the junction of the main road and Balgreen Road (cf. also the discussion of the information status of these adverbials in 7.3.3.4.).

PARAGRAPHS 4 - 5

Let us examine paragraphs four and five together as the latter is very short and closely connected with the former. Through the first of the two initially-placed adverbials, the move contained in paragraph five is linked with the last move of the long paragraph four (or better, to the combination of the last major and minor moves). Paragraph six, on the contrary, starts again with an explicit reference to the main road.

Most moves in par. 4 and 5 are realized within the confines of one sentence, but these sentences are often long and complex. At the beginning of paragraph four, a long sentence guides the tourist back to the main route after the aside to the sights around Gorgie Road, which have eventually led her/him to Stenhouse Mansion. The text-strategically important adverbial of place (*to the end of Dalry Road*) has been integrated into the route instruction proper. Here, it is important to stress the necessity of returning back to the main road after the aside to Gorgie Road. The motion verb *return* is lexically weighty, and the elsewhere implicit participants of the text, *we*, come to the surface. The text thus here displays signals originating in its instructive or procedural discourse type.

(78) We return to the end of Dalry Road, where Ardmillan Terrace leads to Slateford Road and the main route to the villages of Currie and Balerno, now within the extended City of Edinburgh District, and the main route to Lanark. (EDIN:4/11)

Move 11 might be interpreted as a section boundary. The potential function of route instruction as a marker of a new section in this text was discussed above.

Most of the following moves (i.e. 12, 13, 15, and 18) are again denoted by an initial adverbial of place. Move 14 starts with the sight itself in topic position, and it is thus, in the first place, marked by a discontinuous topic (cf. (79) below, in bold type). Its location is given in the form of an anaphoric place adverbial in an initial medial position,[69] referring back to the route instruction in the previous sentence:

(79) *Immediately beyond the canal bridge* Craiglockhart Avenue runs east off the main road. **Craiglockhart Parish Church** *on its north side* is an interesting example of Scots Gothic by George Henderson, 1899. (EDIN:4/13-14)

This is shorthand for 'On its north side is C.P.C. It is an interesting example of---'. The move is, in the first place, marked with the help of the route instruction in 13, which starts with the expected initial locative (cf. the discussion above, p. 208, of subsidiary moves indicating the route). Therefore, the position of the locative in the minor move (i.e. in a move that is textually subordinate to the preceding move, cf. the markers) is initial enough to be interpreted as a move, and the place adverbial works parallel to the break in topic continuity.[70]

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[69] i.e. the position between the subject and the first auxiliary or the verb (cf. CGEL:491, 493).

Finally, move 16 is marked by what I have above called a locative NP. Instead of a place adverbial, in this case for instance *at the end of Craiglockhart Drive South*, followed by a verb of the type of a "pivotal" *be* which allows "swivelling", reference to the location is made through a locative NP which here functions as the subject of the verb *lead* (cf. also verbs such as *have, display, offer,* and so forth, appearing with locative NPs).

(80) *Craiglockhart Drive South* **leads to** Redhall House, by James Robertson, 1758, 2-storey with--- (EDIN:4/16)

Move 16, which guides the reader to *Redhall House*, includes a more thorough description of the sight than the preceding moves in this passage. What has in the above list been designated as move 17 is in fact part of the major move 16. It is not a move in the same sense as the others in this text. The sentence contains some information about an earlier house on the same site, and thus there is no need for the reader to concretely move anywhere from where s/he is standing. The reason why it has been given a move number at all is the way it is signalled linguistically. There is a full NP reference to the topic of the sentence, and hence, a shift in the local topic continuity. Also, the place adverbial in an initial medial position functions here as an adverbial theme. Though an indicator of a local spatial continuity - or unity - this adverbial is, at the same time, connected with the spatial strategy of the text. The difference in position between the text-strategic place adverbial here and in most other moves justifies the assignment of this move to the minor-move category (cf. also moves 14 and 20). The position is, however, initial enough to flag for a textual shift (cf. the discussion of move 14 above, pp. 211-212). Only this time, no concrete spatial move may come into question as the place remains the same.

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[70] The combination of moves 13 and 14 may remind the attentive reader of the so-called *prolonged shifts*, discussed in 6.2.2.2. above, pp 170-171. These were seen to have an important function in the development of tension in the narrative. As tension is a characteristic absent from the present text, and, indeed, from the majority of this type of texts, the notion is of no further relevance here. Cf., however, Longacre's claim that the goal of procedural discourse may form the peak of the text, and thus, justify the distinction [±tension] even in instructive texts (Longacre 1983:38).

First, however, in move 17 the reader gets a temporal adjective indicating a deviation from the chronological time that is followed in the text; this is crucial information in the context (cf. the temporal marker in move 2, above). Thus, though this is, in the first place, a move in time (cf. also the change of tense), the presence of an anaphoric locative in an initial medial position specifies it as a minor move within the local frame of move 16. The temporal marker is here more important and strategically more unexpected, and therefore, it has to come before the more expected spatial marker.[71] As the spatial marker may here function within the framework of the spatial strategy in use in the text even without an absolute initial position, and thus, at the same time contribute to the marking of the move as a minor one, it will be easy to see why the temporal marker and the nominal theme may here succeed in winning the right to initial placement (cf. also move 14 above).

Paragraph five, next, starts with two subsequent text-strategic locatives. The first adverbial of place links the paragraph to the end of the previous one, and relates the new stop to where the reader was before (*Redhall House - south of Redhall*). The second adverbial gives a more precise location of the new sight (cf. also the order in the clusters of locative adverbials considered above):

(81) *South of Redhall, in Craiglockhart Park,* no. 1 (Dunderach) is a private house by Lorimer, 1904, in Scots 17th-century style in snecked rubble with bell roof features. (EDIN:5/18)

Typically, adverbials other that those denoting 'place' tend to appear at the end of the clause. The condensed sentence in (81) is a combination of a move clause and a descriptive clause (cf. e.g. 'South of Redhall is no. 1 Craiglockhart Park (Dunderach). It is a private house by Lorimer---'). Within the sentence, it is the new topic effect - realized here through *no. 1 (Dunderach)* - that blocks any position more final than the initial medial for the text-strategic locatives.

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[71] As has become evident from the discussion so far, the alternatives I am here and elsewhere referring to are different textualizations, not different renderings of an otherwise identical clause or sentence.

PARAGRAPHS 6 - 10

Several of the paragraphs 6 - 10 include deviations from the main route, to which the reader is again explicitly guided if necessary, after the aside (cf., on the one hand, *opposite the path entrance on Lanark Road* in move 22, and on the other hand, *opposite Inglis Green Road* in move 24). The order of two subsequent text-strategic locatives is reversed in this passage. Above, in moves 2, 4, 7, and 9, reference to the main road was made first and a more specific location was given thereafter. From move 11 onwards, the main road is assumed to be a more established concept in the reader's mind. Therefore, reference to it may be made after the naming of the new stop. Compare, for instance, moves 9 and 28.

Other factors, however, interfere. The first locative in moves 2, 4, 7, 9, and 18 connects the move with earlier stops on the route. It links the move with a recent locative in the text. The second locative in these moves specifies the new stop. Conversely, in moves 22, 31, and 45, the second locative refers to the main road - a by now well-established notion for the text receiver. The first locative here links the move to the preceding stop on the route, and thus to a location that has been mentioned more recently than the main road. Cf. also the discussion in Chapter 7, below.

In moves 28 and 30, the order is apparently the same as in other clusters in this passage, even though the initial locative does not refer to a preceding move. The reader is here first supposed to digress from the main road (cf. moves 28 and 29) and then return to Lanark Road again (cf. move 30). It is possible that the order of mentioning the more precise location before the main route is here maintained once it was reversed in move 22 - for motivations discussed above. The main route is now a familiar notion, which need not be placed at the very beginning of a move clause. Further, this order may be motivated by the situational context. If, for instance, Redhall Bank Road extends both to the north and to the south of Lanark Road, then even this order starts from the general and proceeds to the particular. Similarly, in move 30 the reference to Lanark Road functions as a specification of the location indicated first. *Nearby in the same road* (move 29) shares the order with moves 7 and 31. 'Distance' is here expressed first.

In par. 6, after the major move 19, which contains the entrance to Craiglockhart Dell and the start of the woodland walk from there, the route that the walk follows is indicated, together with a general description of the walk. Thus, move 19 differs from the immediately preceding major moves, and it is clearly a high-level shift in the text. There are two sub-moves, leading the reader to two different sights that may be reached following the walk. The first, the minor move 20, starts with the locative NP *the first stage of the path*. It is then made more precise by two adverbials of direction (indicating 'source' and 'goal') *from here to Colinton*. The locative NP is here the subject of the verb *pass*. The second, the minor move 21, is marked with a sentence-initial adverbial denoting 'distance', *a short distance further on* (for a distance-based TSC in this type of text, see 6.2.3.3. below, p. 220ff.).

In addition to the locative NP in the minor move 20, another non-adverbial marker may be found in this passage, viz. the use of a new topic. The location may then be made more precise through an adjective incorporated in the NP functioning as the new topic (cf. *the adjacent Slateford United Presbyterian Church* in move 25 and *the adjoining Old Manse* in move 26). Or the location may be made more precise as in move 27 - this move is indicated by the address of the sight, in the form of the number of the house in the street (cf. (75a) above, p. 206). New topics marking moves tend to be used in connection with minor moves.

Finally, there are differences between paragraph-initial and paragraph-internal locatives in this passage. The locatives appearing at the beginning of the paragraphs 6 - 10 all contain a reference to the main route. This reference may be explicit, as in move 19, or it may be implicit, cf. move 24. In the clusters of locatives, the main road is mentioned only after another locative. The order from the general to the particular, present in the clusters before this passage, is, however, only apparently reversed here. The situational context may justify the use of the explicit reference to the main road as a specification of the new stop (see move 28). Such use may also be motivated when the first locative refers to a more recently mentioned, and hence, more activated, location than the second, which may, at some points, have to be reactivated (cf. however, move 24, where an implicit reference is enough).

Conversely, paragraph-internal moves in this passage are minor ones, and they are marked with different locatives. It was pointed out above that the use of new topics as move markers tends to occur in connection with minor moves. Finally, the adverbials marking minor moves here rely more on anaphora than those indicating major moves (cf. *a short distance further on*, *behind it*, and *nearby in the same road* in moves 21, 23, and 29). Cf. also 7.3.3.4. below, p. 301ff.

PARAGRAPHS 11 - 12

Paragraphs 11 and 12 belong together: both contain examples of private houses by Lorimer, and this is indicated in the second part of the topic sentence of par. 11:[72]

(82) *A short distance beyond on the south side of Lanark Road* are the streets of Spylaw, containing several private houses by Lorimer. (EDIN:11/31)

This sentence indicates a major move, which is again marked by a sentence-initial cluster of place adverbials (for their respective order, cf. p. 214 above). The individual moves from one house to another may be regarded as minor moves. In par. 11, they all start with a new topic - a new house - and the location is indicated by the exact address and at some points also by the name of the house. The sentence then contains information about the particular house. In move 35 this information overlaps with the one in the preceding move, and so a mere address at the end of the sentence containing move 34 is sufficient to indicate a minor move (cf. the high degree of condensation in travel-guide texts):

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[72] For definitions of *topic sentences*, see Ingberg 1988.

It is interesting to note that the tendency of subordinate and non-finite clauses to contain backgrounded information and finite main clauses to convey the foregrounded information in narratives does not necessarily seem to apply to descriptive text (see 8.1.; for grounding in narratives, see e.g. Wårvik 1987, 1990c, for grounding in non-narrative text, see Bäcklund 1988). In (82), for instance, the most foregrounded part occurs in the thematic non-finite clause at the end of the sentence, while the main clause simply functions as its background.

(83) *No. 47 Spylaw Bank Road (Glenlyon)* is also in Scots-English traditional, with bow and loggia features, *as is no. 49 (Almora).* (EDIN:11/34-35)

Par. 12 begins with a locative NP, forming a continuation of the list of the addresses in par. 11. Only, this time, the precise locations are given later in the sentence in the form of the numbers of the houses in the street. The street-name is used in the same way as other locative NPs above, and the verb here is *contain* (cf. e.g. moves 16 and 20; cf. also moves 8, 14, 18, and 19 in the GFM text, see 6.2.3.1. above):

(84) *Gillespie Road* **contains** four more examples of Lorimer's domestic work, *at nos. 14, 21, 26 and 32,* built 1895-8. (EDIN:12/39)

Move 39 is made into a separate paragraph as it deals with Lorimer's houses in a street outside the area discussed in the preceding paragraph. Though it is the last in the list of Lorimer's houses, most of which appear in the preceding par. 11, it has, however, here been interpreted as a major move. In a more delicate classification of moves, it would have to be placed on a lower level than the major moves of the type 31, but at the same time, on a higher level than the preceding series of minor moves. It is marked with a locative NP, differently from the minor moves in par. 11 which all started with a new topic. In principle, one might also interpret par. 12 as a minor move that has further sub-moves, realized in this condensed passage in the form of adverbials of place referring to the more precise addresses of the sights (i.e. the numbers) within the framework of the more general location (i.e. the street) given at the beginning of the move. A more diluted variant might include a series of short clauses or sentences that would have the same form as the minor moves 32-38 (e.g. *No. 14 is of 1895).* They could also start with an adverbial of place (e.g. *At no. 14 is a private house from 1895).* Yet another interpretation would be to regard move 39 as a constellation of four moves on the same level. What this example shows is the heavy condensation of information that sentences and paragraphs in this type of text often display.

PARAGRAPHS 13 - 15

The final paragraphs of the text, 13 to 15, take the reader out of Edinburgh to the villages of Currie and Balerno in the City of Edinburgh District, and eventually out into the surrounding hills. After the zigzagging around the main route in the preceding paragraphs, par. 13 again contains route instruction (cf. the discussion on pp. 208-209 above). This long sentence embeds a sub-move. It is linked to the main-move marker *at Juniper Green* with the help of a non-restrictive relative clause[73], starting *---where (at no. 547 Lanark Road) there is---*.

(85) *At Juniper Green*, ***where (at no. 547 Lanark Road)* there is an 18th-century manse originally built as the dower house of Woodhall House nearby**, the road crosses the old city boundary and enters the village of Currie, now part of City of Edinburgh District. (EDIN:13/40)

Par. 14 takes the reader first to the main sights of Currie village (moves 42 and 43), and then to one in the next village of Balerno (move 44). The major moves 42 and 44 are marked by clause-initial adverbials of place, the minor move 43 by a locative NP. In move 43, several sights are, in fact, listed, and these might be regarded as sub-moves in the same way as the houses listed in par. 11 and 12 (cf. (76a) on p. 206 above). In a more delicate classification this move would be given an intermediate status between major and minor moves.

Finally, par. 15 is introduced by two locatives. Both refer to locations which the text receiver is already supposed to recognize on the basis of the preceding text. The situational context naturally helps the text receiver here as elsewhere. *Beyond Balerno* links move 45 to the end of the preceding paragraph. It thus forms a local link, and the more recent mentioning of *Balerno* as opposed to reference to the main road, justifies its positioning before the second text-strategically important adverbial (cf. the discussion above, p. 214). *On the north side of the main A70 road* contains a reference to the main route which the text receiver is still following, and it thus forms a global link.

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[73] See CGEL:1257ff.

The paragraph-initial adverbials in both par. 14 and 15 contain a reference to the main route (cf. also the route instruction in par. 13). Both also conform to the order of expressing the more general location before a specification.

To sum up, the EDIN text is steered by a global spatial TSC, realized on the textual surface through move clauses marked with a clause-initial locative adverbial or a cluster of such locatives. The verb in such clauses is typically a so-called "pivotal" *be* (cf. 6.2.3.1., p. 200). Further, what has above been referred to as a *new topic* may signal a minor move. It indicates a new sight. Such an NP topic, however, also needs some form of locative anchoring, for instance, a locative adjective incorporated in the NP, or an initial medial adverbial of place. A third device for signalling moves, present here as well as in the GFM text above, is the so-called *locative NP*, which typically occurs with verbs such as *have, contain, offer, pass.*

Paragraphing plays an important role in this long instructive text. Paragraph-initial moves tend to contain route instruction or a cluster of locative adverbials, or else, a more explicit reference to the main route or to some earlier point on the route compared to paragraph-internal moves. Move sentences consisting entirely of route instruction may have the function of signalling higher textual units, such as sections. Paragraph-internal moves, on the contrary, are often marked with a single adverbial of place. If a cluster appears, the reference to the route that the reader is supposed to follow may be more implicit, as compared to the beginning of paragraphs. This points to the existence of several hierarchic layers of moves and to the inheritance of characteristics from a higher level. Paragraph-internal minor moves, as pointed out above, often include signals different from those of the major moves. Also, initially placed adverbials marking minor moves seem to rely more on anaphora than those marking major moves.

A procedural place description is in fact a blend of several TSCs, of which the spatial one typically surfaces in a systematic and often dominant and global fashion. In this type of text, the spatial continuity merges with topic continuity and temporal continuity. The taxonomy of the topic entity and the chronological order are conveyed through the chain of move-initial locatives. Thus, the spatial TSC provides the most economical choice, which is an important factor in view of the high degree of condensation often demanded of this type of text.

6.2.3.3. Distance and spatio-temporal continuity

The purpose of the GFM text was to guide the text receiver within the limited space of a museum. In the EDIN text, again, the tourist was led along a route in a city. Texts containing sight-seeing tours in population centres or buildings are basically structured with the help of a chain consisting of references to 'positions', or points on the line. In addition to 'position', we encountered expressions of 'direction' ('source', 'goal', 'direction') and of 'distance' in the tourist-guide texts investigated above. These were part of the main text-strategic continuity or of more local spatial chains.

Another kind of travel-guide text may be found once the text receiver is taken on a tour in the countryside. This excludes references to parts of buildings or street names and other indications in a town map. Instead, successive points on the route may then be indicated with the help of distance. Hence, tourist guides including countryside car tours, walks, and so forth, typically display a variant of the spatial text-strategic continuity which is realized through successive references to 'distance'. The following examples originate in a text that is steered through a chain of references to the distance of the new stop from a preceding one.

(86) *2 1/2 m. A short distance to the l. of the road, on lower ground towards the river, among farm buildings,* is the church of the monastery of *Arkhangelos Gabriel, originally dating from the late Byzantine period but ambitiously rebuilt in 1636, and in 1713 purchased by Kykko Monastery. (Robertson 1981:100)

(87) *In another 1 1/2 m.* we reach a road junction. The r.-hand turning--- (Robertson 1981:100)

As in the preceding two travel-guide texts, here too the reader is supposed to have a map. There may, however, be stops to be referred to on the way that are not conveniently designated on the map, e.g. *2 1/2 m.* in (86) above. Others, again, if denoted, might still be difficult to find quickly enough. Thus, in (86) there are additional initially placed indicators of the site, necessary for the tourist to find the monastery. The road junction in (87) is certainly on the map but it is easier for the text receiver to find it if s/he knows how far ahead it is situated, instead of only knowing, for instance, where the turnings lead.

In this instance, the dominant strategy thus consists of a distance-oriented variant of the spatial TSC. In addition to this global strategy, the text also contains expressions of 'direction' and 'position'. These follow the primary reference to 'distance', or form local chains in the text (cf. (86) above). The reader is first taken a certain distance further on, in a particular direction. Then, s/he is guided to a location, and there s/he is given information about a sight (see (86) above;[74] cf. also the order of locatives in this type of moves in the EDIN text, e.g. move 7). Further, as in the EDIN text above, some of the moves advance the text receiver on the route, cf. (87) above, while others, e.g. (86), guide her/him to a sight.

'Distance' may thus be indicated using locative expressions (e.g. *2 1/2 m.; in another 1 1/2 m.; after 1 m.*). Time may, however, also be used as measurement in locative texts. Consider the following text fragment from a tourist guide, in which expressions of the type *at 1h40min* or *ten minutes later* are used instead of, for instance, *at 4 1/2m.* or *a short distance further on.*

(88) Start your walk behind the church,--- Take the cobbled road uphill to the left,--- *In 13min* you will reach the crossing of the levada;--- Turn right---

---

[74] A local temporal strategy surfaces in (86) once the text producer goes on to inform the reader about the history of the sight, cf. the clause-initial temporal marker *in 1713*. This strategy is, however, subordinate to the local topic continuity, realized through references to the monastery (zero anaphora in the sentence presented above as (86), and pronominal (*it*) and nominal *(the whole)* references in subject/topic position in the two subsequent sentences). The local topic continuity is broken at the next paragraph boundary. It is subordinate to the global distance-oriented TSC, manifested at the outset of new paragraphs. The markers of the global strategy are often, as in this instance, accompanied by a series of locatives indicating the more exact position of the stop.

> *At about 25min into the walk, at Rochão,* you lose the levada. Continue up the cobbled path,---
>
> *In 45min* you come to the head of a very deep U-turn in the especially lovely valley of the Ribeira do Porto Novo---
>
> *At 1h40min,* enjoy the rush of the Levada do Pico crossing your path, *just before a track down to Aguas Mansas. At 2h35min, after passing the wide and pleasant Boaventura river valley,* you'll reach the best picnic spot on the walk - anywhere in the hidden, gorse-golden valley of the Ribeira de João Frino. *Ten minutes later,* cross the secondary road to Poiso and Ariciro --- *By 3 1/2h* you can see Santo da Serra and São Lourenço. *Ten minutes later* you get your first views of the north coast and the misty-grey flanks of the surrounding mountains, cloaked in dry heath trees. *At 4h* meet a dirt track, *just before a waterhouse.* Turn down right--- (Underwood and Underwood 1983:62-63)

After an initial description of the beauty of the walk - not included in (88) above - the instruction part of the above text starts with a few dynamic verbs of motion in the imperative form (for 'stative' and 'dynamic' verb meanings, see e.g. CGEL:177-178). They are typically followed by locative NPs as direct objects or by V^1 and/or V^2 adverbials of place, denoting 'direction' or 'position'. To these main clauses are combined finite or non-finite subordinate clauses giving additional information to guide the reader right, cf. the first two sentences in (89) below (p. 223; this example contains the first paragraph of (88) in its entirety). This abundance of guidance is used especially at the beginning of the text, whereas later, once the reader is supposed to be on the right track, only the main changes or ambiguities in direction are indicated. Such subordinate clauses may also contain further information about a sight or the route, and even indicate another, more local sight or route instruction (cf. also the GFM and EDIN texts above).

When the first time adverbial, *in 13min* (see sentence three in (89) below), emerges to denote distance we have a stative verb (*will reach*), instead of the earlier dynamic imperative forms. Its subject is a 'non-specific' *you* (for discussion, see 6.1.2.5. above, pp. 107-110, and 6.2.3., pp. 194-195). In other words, a description of where the reader will find her/himself and what s/he can see at that point typically follows the location specified here with the help of a time adverbial denoting 'distance' in time. The next route instruction (sentence four) again has the imperative form of a dynamic motion verb (*turn*) and a locative (*right*). It is given only after the tourist is taken to a specific point on the route, marked by a time adverbial and described in 'stative' terms in the preceding sentence.

> (89) [1]Start your walk behind the church, where the main road forks right to Santo da Serra. [2]Take the cobbled road uphill to the left, keeping the walls of the Quinta das Almas on your left and taking the left-hand fork about 200m (yds) past the Quinta gate. [3]In 13min you will reach the crossing of the levada; a wicker-works is on your left and a village shop opposite. [4]Turn right - a left leads to Coupana (Walk 9).
> (Underwood and Underwood 1983:62)

The strategy of first pointing out a specific spot and then giving the next instruction from the perspective of that spot is conspicuously followed throughout this text (cf. the role of experiential iconicity in this type of text). These two phases tend to be combined into a single clause or sentence once the text gets more condensed (e.g. *ten minutes later, cross the secondary road to Poiso and Arieiro)*; at the beginning of the text several clauses or sentences often follow a move clause.

Consider next the beginning of the fourth paragraph in (88), above (pp. 221-222). The main motivation for the ordering of the clauses in the first two sentences of this paragraph is obviously experiential iconicity. The reader is supposed to arrive at the Levada do Pico at 1h40min, and the track down to Aguas Mansas will only be passed after the levada. Conversely, in the next sentence, the Boaventura river valley is crossed before the intended picnic spot will be arrived at. It is interesting that the adverbial *at 2h35min* occurs sentence-initially even when it refers to the time of arrival to the valley of the Ribeira de João Frino. This is so because it signals a shift in the spatio-temporal continuity, a textual boundary and a new move. The sentence-initial *after*-clause contains additional information for the text receiver who may still be uncertain about the timing of her/his walk.

This kind of spatio-temporally steered travel-guide texts are typically found in guidebooks for countryside walks. As no mileometer is then available for the text receiver, other measures of distance are needed. Though it is of course still possible to use locative measures of distance, such as *a short distance further on* or *at 200 metres (yards)*, a more practical measure in the context of a countryside walk may be distance in time. The basic landmark in the above text is the *levada* (a watercourse used for irrigation) which the reader is supposed to follow. Distance, measured here in time, then becomes the natural device for the purpose of forming a text-strategic continuity. Action continuity seems to surface particularly at points where the *levada* is lost. The reader needs more guidance for finding the way when s/he cannot simply follow the water-course. This information, mostly locative in nature, is placed in the rhemes of the clauses and sentences held together by action continuity (cf. also the discussion of route instruction above).

At one point in (88), above, a locative appears sentence-initially right after the text-strategically important temporal adverbial (paragraph 2). What is interesting here is the fact that the temporal adverbial precedes the locative. This may be given at least two plausible explanations: the strength of the text-strategic continuity in governing word order in clauses and sentences, and experiential iconicity. The former will be discussed in 6.3.3. below, and the latter in 8.1. (for thematic considerations, see Chapter 7).

In this section I have presented examples of different types of locative TSC. New stops on the route that the text receiver is instructed to follow may also be defined through reference to 'distance'. This is interesting because it leads us to a domain where the boundary between temporality and spatiality is particularly fuzzy. In addition to tourist-guide texts such as the ones discussed above, a spatio-temporal continuity may also be found in narratives. In example (2), in 6.1.1. above, p. 86, a spatio-temporal marker was seen to participate in the global chain of signals of the temporal TSC which is dominant in the story. It is easy to invent other spatio-temporal adverbials that might follow the adverbial *on the way up the hillside* in (2): e.g. *half-way up, on the top*. The difficult question which of these two notions, temporality or spatiality, in fact implies the other is beyond the scope of the present study (see the discussion of *lo-*

calism in e.g. Lyons 1977:669, 718ff., and Levinson 1983:84-85; cf. also Levinson 1992). In the instances considered here the role of the text type is crucial in determining the interpretation that the text receiver is likely to give to the TSC.

To sum up: in the main part of section 6.2. the role of adverbials of time and place in realizing a TSC has been discussed with reference to the entire text in which they appear. The section has concentrated on narratives, which manifest the temporal TSC, and procedural place descriptions, which display the spatial TSC. In 6.2.3.3. a particular type of spatial continuity was briefly considered. Here, the TSC was seen to have the form of a chain of references to spatial or temporal distance, to successive locations or points of time that were defined with the help of their distance from the preceding spot or from the starting point of the tour. The four texts analysed in their entirety in 6.2.2. and 6.2.3. will be further examined in Chapter 7 below, where the information status of clause-initial adverbials will be dealt with. In the remainder of section 6.2., the segmentation of the sample texts will be reconsidered in the light of the results of a paragraphing test. After that, in section 6.3., another look will be taken at the clause-initial and sentence-initial adverbials of time and place encountered in the above texts and other similar data. Section 6.3. will thus serve as a summary of different aspects of temporal and locative adverbials realizing TSC.

6.2.4. Testing text segmentation

The analyses of the sample texts in 6.2.2. and 6.2.3., above, started with text segmentation. The two narratives were segmented according to established models of narrative structure, synthesized into a hierarchy of moves, episodes, sub-sections, and sections. The two procedural place descriptions were segmented according to the extent to which the text instructed its reader to move. The hierarchy of text structure was here based on the taxonomy of the topic entity, and these texts were segmented into sections, sub-sections, and several layers of moves. In the BEARS text even typographical clues were made use of: each page was interpreted as an episode. Paragraphs, however, were not taken into account in the text segmentation, though they were, to an extent, discussed in connection with the long EDIN text. The analysis of the interplay of the various TSCs in these four texts provided insights to cohesion and coherence. It also suggested that adverbials of time and place, or other temporal and locative expressions belonging to the same text-strategic chain as these, seemed to appear at boundaries between textual units. Finally, there seemed to be differences in the signalling of major vs. minor shifts in the text.

A paragraphing test was conducted to find some support for the segmentation of these texts. Paragraph divisions are based on a number of different criteria, and there must therefore be a variety of possible paragraphings for a single text. Yet it seems that paragraph boundaries are often suggested by the content of the text, which implies that they are not placed at random (see Stark 1988). What follows is a report of the main results of the experiment, in which 16 to 17 educated, adult native speakers of English indicated their preferred paragraphing of the unsegmented sample texts. The test and the subjects participating in it are described in Appendix 2, which also contains the results of the individual tests.

Though paragraph markings may be based on various criteria, it was hypothesized that a large number of them at a given point in a particular text must indicate an important boundary in the text and discourse. It was further assumed that paragraphing according to eye appeal would not produce coinciding responses to the extent of paragraphing based on the content of the text, but no explicit instruction was given to the testees regarding this. They were just asked to paragraph the texts according to their own preference. Further, if explicit signals of the text producer's text strategy appear at the outset of a commonly recognized boundary, they may be assumed to have influenced the subjects' decision to start a new paragraph at that particular point in the text. A paragraph boundary may produce a highlighting effect on the paragraph-initial sentence: this is where something new starts. Signals of the temporal or locative TSCs may therefore be assumed to have the effect of separating what is to follow from what has gone before. Along these lines, then, a high degree of agreement in the subjects' paragraph markings will be interpreted as evidence for a boundary between textual or discoursal units of some kind. And a high number of paragraph markings just before a text-strategically important adverbial - and conversely, fewer or less unanimous markings in the absence of explicit signals of text strategy - will be regarded as support for the analysis undertaken in 6.2.2. and 6.2.3., above.[75]

To sum up: if (a) the application of the models of narrative structure or the content-based segmentation of the procedural place descriptions, (b) the analysis of the signals of TSCs, and (c) the results of the paragraphing test all point in the same direction at a given stage in a near-prototype text, then that particular juncture in the text may be assumed to constitute a textual shift of some kind. Secondly, the adverbial of time or place starting the new textual unit may then be concluded to have an important function in the signalling of the shift in the text and discourse. In what follows, the individual sample texts will be dealt with in the same order as above. Familiarity with the above analyses is assumed, and the reader is referred to App. 1 and 2 for the segmented sample texts and the results of the study of paragraph markings. A short summary may be found on p. 247, as well as at the end of the discussions of the individual texts.

6.2.4.1. BEARS

The BEARS text was paragraphed by 17 native speakers of English. The subjects were unanimous in their markings at three different points in the text, i.e. at the outset of episodes 5 and 8, and at the beginning of the last sentence of episode 9. Other clearly signalled paragraphs started at episodes 11 and 12. Episodes 5 and 8, and 11 and 12 form the second and final parts in the characteristic tripartite structure of the story. Three of the subjects also followed the tripartite structure in more detail within episodes 10, 11, and 12, i.e. in the peak episodes of the story, characterized by direct speech.

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[75] Cf. the discussion in Stark 1988. Moreover, Ehrlich (1990:56-57, 78-80) shows that paragraph boundaries may alter the interpretation of the succeeding narrative discourse in terms of point of view. See, however, also Giora 1983, for a discussion of text segmentation just before a textual boundary, after the introduction of new material in segment-final position. This material may then be taken up as the topic of the new textual unit, or in view of the present discussion, a new typographical paragraph (where topic is used in the sense of 'aboutness'). Cf. also the discussion of typographical paragraphs and units of text in 6.2.1. above, p. 130.

The unanimous paragraph division at the end of episode 9 coincides with the boundary between the pre-peak episodes and the peak episodes. The turning point is typographically placed already at the end of the last pre-peak episode, and it is thus temporally linked with the incident of Goldilocks falling asleep in the little bear's bed. In 6.2.2.1. it was therefore called an anticipated shift. This placement obviously adds to suspense - in a way more efficient than a placement at the beginning of the next episode and page. The figure 100 per cent of the potential markings (N=17) at this boundary may be claimed to support the status of the sentence-initial adverbial *just then* as an important textual marker here:[76]

(90) [9]Goldilocks looked at the teeny, weeny bed near the window. It was just the right height, and had a beautiful patchwork quilt just the right thickness. As soon as Goldilocks climbed in she fell fast asleep.

Just then the bears came home, very hungry after their walk.

[10]'Somebody's been eating **my** porridge!' roared the great big bear in a great gruff voice. --- (BEARS:9-10)

Next, three fourths of the subjects started a new paragraph at the beginning of episode 13, where the resolution starts, and two more placed the boundary later in that episode, i.e. at the beginning of the second sentence, which starts with a *when*-clause:

(91) 'Somebody's been lying in **my** bed,' cried the little, small, wee bear, 'and she's still there!'

[13]The little, small, wee voice was so shrill that Goldilocks woke up at once. When she saw the three bears, she tumbled out of bed in fright. (BEARS:12-13)

This final major textual boundary evoked fewer markings (i.e. 76%, and another 12% before the *when*-clause) than the outset of episodes 5, 8, 11,

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[76] Superscripted numbers in the examples indicate the point of departure for a new episode.

12, or the turning point at the end of episode 9, where the percentages varied from 94 to 100. This may be partly explained by the placement of the actual shift already in the final clause of episode 12, while paragraphs of course start with new sentences.

Further, more than half of the subjects indicated a paragraph boundary at the beginning of episode 3, and the rest placed it at the outset of episode 2, cf. (92) below. Both of these episodes start with temporal markers:

(92) [1]Once upon a time three bears lived in a house in the woods. There was a great big bear, a medium-sized bear and a little, small, wee bear. All the bears like porridge and had their own special porridge bowls. The great big bear had a great big bowl; the medium-sized bear had a medium-sized bowl; and the little, small wee bear had a teeny, weeny bowl.

[2]Every morning the three bears went out for a walk while their porridge cooled.

[3]One morning while the bears were out walking, a little girl called Goldilocks came to their house. --- (BEARS:1-3)

The textual boundary at episode 4 does not seem to be as clearly signalled as the other major shifts. Yet the majority of the testees started a new paragraph about here. The actual markings are, however, divided within the scope of three or four different sentences: only 35% occurred at the outset of episode 4, another 29% at the beginning of the resolution of episode 3 (its last sentence), 12% at the beginning of the second sentence of episode 4, and potentially one additional marking (6%) at the beginning of the sentence indicating the reply to Goldilocks's calls, totalling some 76% or 82% of the potential markings.

(93) [3]One morning while the bears were out walking, a little girl called Goldilocks came to their house. First she looked through the window. Then she peeped through the keyhole.
'Is anyone home?' she called.
There was no reply. Goldilocks opened the door and went in.

> [4]The bears' breakfast smelled so good that Goldilocks suddenly felt hungry. She tasted the porridge in the great big bowl. It was so hot that it burnt her tongue.--- (BEARS 3-4)

It is possible that the comparative construction at the beginning of episodes 4 and 13 has the effect of softening the boundary: the new textual unit starts with information connecting it back to the immediately preceding text or to an earlier episode, thus making the transition less abrupt. At the same time, the comparative construction makes the text receiver expect some weighty information at the end of the sentence, which is where the next story-line event is indicated. Moreover, the clear adverbial signals at the outset of episodes 1, 2, and 3 may have led to expectations that were not met at this point, making the subjects to a higher degree resort to the content of the story.

The boundaries between sub-sub-sections (i.e. episodes 6, 7, 9, and 14) were consistently left unmarked. The same applies to most of the episode-internal moves, with a few exceptions. Within the first episode of the story, six subjects indicated a paragraph division between sentences two and three (35% of the potential markings), and one already in front of sentence two (cf. (92) above, p. 229). These divisions coincide with different parts of the background description, in which the bears are alternately referred to as a group and as individuals. As the BEARS text was the first to be paragraphed, it may also be hypothesized that in episode 1 the average testee, having perhaps not yet settled for a particular paragraphing strategy, may have been keener than later on the search of suitable junctures for paragraph boundaries. This may also have motivated nearly half of the subjects to draw a line between the orientation and the initiating event of the story already at the outset of episode two, which clearly is another separate part of the description, focusing on the bears' habitual activities, rather than their house, their likings, or their belongings. Only one of these subjects then also drew a boundary between episodes two and three, which suggests that the paragraph markings at the outset of episode two were presumably intended as the shift from the orientative description to the narrative proper.

Also, within episode three, several of the stages in the sub-story have been separated from the rest, see (93) on p. 229 above. Hence, some subjects probably wanted to signal the peak of that sub-story, others the following resolution. However, 5 or 6 of these markings were above related to the signalling of the textual boundary between episodes three and four. Finally, within episode 4 two subjects have separated the final move containing the peak and the resolution of the sub-story. This move is signalled by sentence-initial direct speech (cf. also episode three, within which the same two subjects separated the peak starting with direct speech).[77]

All in all, the small-scale paragraphing test gives support to the placement of the main textual boundaries in Fig. 7, which is a synthesis of various models for narrative structure. Most of the paragraph markings seem to point to a content-based chunking of the text. The results of the test also indicate that, along with other devices used to signal textual boundaries, the sentence-initial adverbials of time in the global chain of text-strategically important temporal elements have a crucial function in text segmentation. Compared to the original text, in which an episode corresponds to a text page, the subjects signalled the average of one paragraph per 1.3 episodes. Owing to the shortness of the text, episode-internal moves were seldom separated from each other through paragraphing, except for the beginning of the story and the peak episodes. Hence, the effect of the local chains of temporal adverbials, or other signals of local continuities, does not show in the above results.

6.2.4.2. CATS

The second sample narrative was also paragraphed by 17 native speakers of English (see App. 1 and 2). The mean frequency of paragraph markings across the responses was only 14.65, whereas the original text contains as many as 58 short paragraphs. The author's and the subjects' motivations for paragraphing may thus be assumed to be very different from each other. The results of the paragraphing test clearly support the main divisions of the text according to the narrative models used in 6.2.2.2., above. Furthermore, they confirm the crucial role played by the episode-initial adverbials of time in the signalling of major textual boundaries, in the sense that paragraph markings often appear just before such signals.

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[77] Incidentally, these were two of the three subjects who also reckoned with the episode-internal direct speech boundaries in the three peak episodes of the story.

To start with, all of the subjects reckoned with the boundary between the setting of the story and the Rumelhartian episode, or else, the orientation and the narrative proper. The shift to episode 2 (cf. the superscripted number) is signalled with the help of two initial adverbials of time:

(94) [1]*One evening in spring*, a man and a woman moved into a new house. Just outside their door there was a garden. It was a pretty garden, with flowers and grass and even a tree.

They were very happy, because it isn't easy to find a real garden for your very own, right in the middle of a big city.

[2]*The next morning, as soon as they woke up*, they ran to the window to admire their garden. (CATS 1-2/1-3)

Furthermore, the four major sections of the text show in the paragraph markings of all, or all but one, of the subjects. Hence, at the outset of section two, we once more find 100% of the potential markings (N=17), and only one of the subjects ignored the boundaries preceding sections three and four (which were thus separated in 94% of the responses). Section boundaries, as will be remembered, are signalled with the help of a cluster of markers, the first of which is an adverbial of definite time:[78]

SECTION 2: *That night*, the cats disappeared.

SECTION 3: *One evening* the woman found that there was a bit of milk left over after supper.

SECTION 4: *Then one day*, **winter** came. *All of a sudden*, it snowed and the wind was wild.

Other boundaries with a high percentage of markings are those between two sub-sections. Thus, the second sub-section in section one is signalled by a new paragraph in 71% of the responses, and that in section two in 59% of the responses. Sub-section two in section three, again, was separated by all of the subjects, and sub-section three in that section by 88%. Finally, sub-section two in section four was indicated by a paragraph boundary by 65% of the subjects.

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[78] Cf. also the reference to 'winter' in section four, part of the global cohesive chain of seasons in the text, i.e. 'spring' right at the beginning of the text, see (94) above, and 'summer' at the outset of the third sub-section in section three, see below.

SUB-SECTION 1-2: *All day* the cats played in the little garden.

SUB-SECTION 2-2: *Every day* the cats played in the pretty garden.

SUB-SECTION 3-2: *On Sunday*, it rained.

SUB-SECTION 3-3: And so **summer** went slowly by.

SUB-SECTION 4-2: "I think I'll do a bit of building at my work-bench in the basement," said the man. "Just to get some practice, you understand."

Sub-sections also start with several markers but only sub-section two in section three starts with a definite time adverbial. This boundary got 100% of the potential markings. The second sub-sections in sections one and two start with adverbials of duration and frequency (71% and 59% of the potential markings, respectively). Finally, sub-section three in section three starts with a combination of a conjunction and a conjunct, followed by a reference to the season at hand (88%), and sub-section two in the fourth section starts with sentence-initial direct speech (65%; cf. however, also *now* in the final clause of the preceding paragraph, discussed in 6.2.2.2. above, pp. 176-177).

In connection with several of the major boundaries - indicated by the large majority of the subjects - it is possible to interpret also one or two markings at the outset of the immediately preceding or following paragraph or sentence as signals of the same major textual shift. For instance, sub-section three in section three might thus be regarded as separated by 100% of the subjects (and not 88%) if the two markings at the beginning of its second paragraph (i.e. paragraph 43) were interpreted as having this function. These two subjects only made a marking here and not in front of paragraph 42, which the others had indicated as the boundary. The total number of the responses being modest, I shall, however, restrict the discussion to the markings occurring exactly at the actual boundaries.

Clusterings of paragraph markings, as opposed to a partial or total agreement of the subjects at one and the same point in the text, may reflect a less distinct signalling of the boundary on the textual surface. The interested reader is invited to consider potential clusterings in paragraph markings in App. 2, which displays the individual responses.

To summarize the above discussion of paragraph markings coinciding with the major textual shifts, a unanimity of 94 to 100 per cent appeared at section boundaries. Sub-section boundaries were always separated by the large majority of the subjects, and sometimes by all of them. Other boundaries which received a high percentage of paragraph markings include those at the beginning of episodes 3 and 10, signalled by as many as three fourths of the subjects, and those at the beginning of episodes 30 and 31, which nearly half of the subjects paid attention to. Below, episodes such as 10 or 30 which start with text-strategically important adverbials will first be discussed. Episodes introduced with the help of other signals will then be dealt with, including numbers 3 and 31.

Sentences beginning with adverbials of time in the present text were indicated as the starting point of a new paragraph by the average of 36% of the subjects. And the mean for separating the original paragraphs of the text starting with such a signal was 48%, i.e. nearly half of the subjects. This difference is largely due to the adverbial *then*, which appeared at the outset of an original paragraph only once and which was never used as a paragraphing clue by the subjects. To capture the function of *then* in the text, a more delicate test would have been necessary. The high mean for the paragraph markings just before an adverbial of time, other than *then*, supports the hypothesis that these adverbials function as important signals of text segmentation in the present text. The mean for paragraph markings coinciding with the original paragraphs was 4, or 24% of the potential markings. This is clearly less than the mean for paragraphs introduced by an adverbial signal. The only other sentence-initial signal that got a mean above the average of 24% was sentence-initial direct speech, which evoked the average of 29% of the potential paragraph markings.

We have seen above that most of the major shifts in the text are signalled with the help of a text-strategically important adverbial of time which introduces the new textual unit. These were duly recognized by the subjects of the paragraphing task. To turn now to the rest of the textual boundaries marked by such adverbials, a high degree of agreement between the different subjects appeared at the outset of episode 10, marked as a new paragraph in 76% of the instances. Episode 10 follows the climactic sub-sub-story in episode 9, which forms the complication of the sub-story on the sub-section level. Episode 10 is where the complication reaches its resolution, and it also contains the peak of the sub-story. The temporal TSC is explicit here, and the episode-initial adverbial *the next morning* clearly belongs to the global chain of text-strategic signals which may at this point be expected by the text receiver on the basis of an activated narrative schema.

Further, episode 30 also starts with a text-strategically important adverbial of time, *in the morning*. This boundary was indicated through paragraphing by nearly half of the subjects. Episode 30 introduces the story-grammatical *reaction* on the sub-section level, in the final sub-story of the text. Alternatively, it forms the resolution of the sub-sub-story in episodes 28-30, cf. Note 51 in 6.2.2.2. above, p. 175. Next, the series of temporal adverbials referring to the different weekdays in the first sub-story in section three were each marked as the starting points of new paragraphs by two or three different subjects (cf., however, the first of them, discussed on p. 232 above). As pointed out above, none of the sentence-initial *then*'s were interpreted as a paragraphing signal. Hence, no markings appeared at the beginning of episode 19, either. The paragraphing test is too crude a tool for the analysis of close boundaries or minor shifts. The episode boundaries that were not separated by paragraph markings will be further dealt with below. These include the evaluative (sub-)episode 8, which starts with the adverbial of frequency *every night*. Lastly, the story-final repetition of the adverbial *this time* in a sentence-initial position was considered a paragraph marker by three different subjects, who placed a boundary either before the first or the third occurrence of this adverbial. These three subjects did not agree with those - nearly half of the subjects - who separated episode 31 from what precedes. But the one who separated the third occurrence of *this time* in episode 31 also separated episode 32, and the following story-final sentence, starting with *but this time*.

In sum, of the textual shifts signalled with the help of sentence-initial adverbials of time, those at the outset of episodes 2, 7, 14, 22, and 26 are clearly major boundaries in the text, evoking a unanimity of 94 to 100 per cent in the markings. All of these start with adverbials of time 'when'. Further, episodes 5 and 10 are also important shifts, receiving 71 to 76 per cent of the potential markings, while episodes 12 and 30 were separated from the preceding text by approximately half of the subjects. The adverbials at the outset of episodes 5 and 12 indicate 'duration' and 'frequency', differently from the others. Few subjects regarded the shifts to episodes 15, 16, 17, and 18 worth a paragraph boundary, and episode 19, which starts with *then*, was ignored in the paragraphing task. All of these begin with an adverbial of definite time. To conclude, the sentence-initial adverbial of time that belongs to a chain of temporal expressions forming a TSC in the text seems to be an important signal of boundaries between different kinds of textual units. The paragraphing task may, however, only be used for textual shifts that take place at some distance from each other, and local shifts, between moves, need not show at all in the results of such a test.

Next a few words about non-adverbial boundaries that evoked a high number of paragraph markings and that have not been dealt with above, in connection with the section or sub-section boundaries. Episode 3 was considered a new paragraph by 71% of the subjects. Starting with sentence-initial direct speech, and preceded by an evaluative passage, it forms the vivid peak of the first sub-story. This episode gives the couple's first *reaction* to the *event* of their finding a number of cats in the garden. Three of the subjects also separated episode 4, the *consequence*, or *resolution* in that sub-story, consisting of the cats' reaction and introduced by *but*. The contrastive *but* also appears at the beginning of the second part of the description in episode 6, which got 41% of the potential paragraph markings. Sentence-initial direct speech, again, appears right after a paragraph boundary at the outset of episodes 20 and 23. In both of these instances, the boundary between the story-grammatical *event* and *reaction* is involved. The percentage of potential markings was, however, higher in the first of these two structurally iconic episodes (41% vs. 18%). This difference may be due to the fact that the first of these constitutes the peak in a sub-story which up to that point has manifested a high-paced narration slowed down just before the peak. In contrast, what is interesting in the second, structurally repetitive sub-story is the actual result of the man's action, as well as the form that the cats' expected response to his new attitude will take - and that is where the paragraph markings within this sub-section in fact appear (29% at the outset of paragraphs 39 and 41).

In the light of the mean for paragraph markings in connection with different sentence-initial elements, *but* is not by itself a clear-cut signal, whereas sentence-initial direct speech must here be reckoned with. The contrastive conjunction, pointing to contrasts on local and global levels, is probably too small a signal, and perhaps also too often used in texts, to be able to assume alone the task of signalling an important textual shift. Sentence-initial direct speech, again, is a handy way of signalling an interruption in a narrative context. Contrary to a sentence-initial narrative *transformer* (Sternberg 1991:63), which points to a new (speech) event in the narrative chain of actions and events and which explicitly signals the shift from narrative to the inserted reported discourse that is to follow, initially placed direct speech causes a sudden momentary delay in the movement of narrative time. This is so because it provides a forum for evaluative elements, background information, or what Grimes (1975:64-70) calls *collateral material*, right at the outset of the new episode.

While shifts in participant continuity in this text always coincide with paragraph markings (varying from a few to more than two thirds of the potential markings), they never appear as the only signal at a textual boundary - they are always preceded by another marker. Conversely, the following boundaries with a break in participant continuity as the sole signal of a textual shift were separated by one third to one fifth of the subjects: consider episodes 9 (35% of the potential markings), 24 (29%), 32 (29%), and 21 (18%). A closer investigation shows that episode 9 is where a sub-story level *complicating action* or *development* starts, after the *initiating event*, followed by some background information. The three others, again, introduce the *resolution* or *outcome* of the sub-section level sub-story. Episodes 31 and 32 contain the final scene of the story. Episode 31 is introduced by a pronoun referring to the couple, who have been acting individually in the immediately preceding text, and a full NP referring to them appears only later, in right dislocation. This important boundary within the *reaction* part of the final sub-story (between a *pre-action* and the *action)*, or else, the starting point of yet another sub-sub-story (that of the final scene in the story, see Note 51 in 6.2.2.2. above, p. 175), was marked by nearly half of the subjects, followed by another two or three, who indicated the boundary at the beginning of the next sentence or somewhat later. Finally, paragraphs 39 and 48 were signalled by 29% vs. 23% of the subjects. These had no explicit signal but both are narrative and appear right after direct speech in the peak episodes of the story. Both may be analysed as the resolution on the level of a sub-sub-(sub-)narrative (cf. discussion of par. 39 on p. 237, above).

Some of the paragraph markings appear where no paragraph boundary occurs in the original text. Two such sentences were separated from the preceding text by more than one subject. The boundary before the temporal adverbial *this time* at the outset of the second sentence of par. 55, within episode 31, has already been dealt with above (see p. 235). Secondly, three markings appear at the outset of the third sentence of paragraph 18, which constitutes the *resolution* of the micro-level story in episode 9. This is a narrative clause appearing after direct speech.

Some support may be found for the division into two separate episodes of the descriptions of situations in the second sub-sections of sections one and two, both of which occur after a sub-story. This division was based on the set of participants concerned. In section one, 41% of the subjects noticed this boundary (episode 6). In section two, again, only one of the 17 made the division (episode 13). This subject only marked the second episode in both of these descriptive sub-sections. The description in section two is iconic in structure of that in section one but it is shorter, and the episode boundary is here only signalled with the help of a break in participant continuity. The section-final description in section one is also marked with the contrastive conjunction *but*. As noted above, even the beginning of sub-section two in section two was indicated through paragraphing by fewer subjects than that of section one (59% vs. 71%). Both display identical signals, an initial adverbial of 'duration' or 'frequency' and a shift in participant continuity (i.e. a full NP reference to continuous participants).

None of the subjects started a new paragraph at the outset of episodes 8, 11, 19, and 27. The first two of these contain an explanation for the events or actions conveyed in the immediately preceding narrative episode. These sub-episodes are thus off story line (for grounding, see 8.1.). Episode 7 starts the second sub-story of the text, and episode 10 contains the resolution and the peak of that sub-story. Consider again the entire sub-section one in section two. The superscripted numbers refer to episodes.

(95) ^{7}(100% of the potential markings) That night, the cats disappeared. They went out in search of food.

^{8}(no markings) Every night they had to look for left-overs that had been thrown away, for, since they had no home, they had no one to feed them.

^{9}(35%) The man and the woman went into the garden.

They found a big hole under the fence.

"This is how those cats get in," they decided. "We will fill it in, and then we will have the garden to ourselves." They filled in the hole under the fence.

^{10}(76%) The next morning they woke up smiling.

They hurried to the window to admire their garden.

But can you guess what they saw?

YES! Cats!

^{11}(no markings) The big cats had climbed over the fence. Then they had dug a new hole under the fence to let in the kittens that were still too little to climb so high. (CATS 7-11/14-23)

Next, episode 19 occurs where the tempo of the accelerated series of actions and events taking place during one week is slowed down, and the final incident in the sub-story of the woman's kind actions, taking place on that Friday, is reported in more detail. Episode 20, the peak and the focus of evaluation of the sub-story, is signalled by 41% of the subjects. It starts with direct speech.

(96) ^{18}(18% of the potential markings) On Friday, the mackerel in the market looked so firm and fresh that the woman completely forgot that they were having supper with friends that evening. She bought some mackerel and brought it home.

> [19](no markings) Then, of course, she couldn't throw it away - because she knew how cats feel about FISH.
>
> [20](41%)"Now mind you," the woman warned the cats, "just because I--- (CATS:18-20/32-34)

Finally, while the major boundary between sections three and four was clearly signalled, the entire sub-section one in section four was interpreted as a whole by all of the subjects. In this respect, the description here was thus treated differently from the ones at the end of sections one and two. This sub-section provides the setting for the final sub-story of the text.

Expectedly, the sentence-initial adverbial of place *from their window* at the outset of paragraph 37 did not lead to paragraph markings in a temporally organized text. It is part of a prolonged shift, see pp. 170-171 in 6.2.2.2. above. Similarly, the sentence-initial generic *when*-clause in paragraph 44, denoting 'whenever', was not interpreted as the starting point of a new paragraph. It starts with the conjunction *and*, and forms a tight link with the preceding sentence, connecting the changing state of the participant cats to cats generally.

In sum, the mean frequency of the subjects' paragraph markings was only one fourth of the number of paragraphs in the original. The resulting paragraph markings tend to reflect the content of the text. More specifically, they seem to conform to the underlying narrative schema, recursively present in the text. The subjects of the paragraphing task tended to start a new paragraph just before an explicit signal of a textual boundary. The most conspicuous of such signals was the occurrence of a sentence-initial adverbial of time manifesting the temporal TSC of the text. Sentence-initial direct speech in a narrative context, suspending or slowing down the time line, also seemed to be of importance as a clue to a new paragraph. The paragraphing task is not delicate enough to indicate textual shifts on the level of moves or minor boundaries that occur close to each other. Finally, it must again be pointed out that the subjects' paragraphings may be based on a number of different, and possibly inconsistent criteria. Still, the results of the small-scale test support the text segmentation of 6.2.2.2., as well as the status of adverbials of time as important markers of textual boundaries.

6.2.4.3. GFM

Sixteen native speakers indicated paragraph boundaries in the unparagraphed GFM text (see App. 1 and 2). The original text consists of two long paragraphs and a very short paragraph at the end. The subjects, however, signalled a large number of paragraphs: the mean of the number of paragraphs across responses, i.e. 9.88, was more than three times higher than in the original. More than half of the 21 sentences in the text (i.e. 13 sentences) were interpreted as the starting point of a new paragraph. All paragraph markings appear at boundaries between moves or (sub-)sections, and three fourths of the 17 potential move boundaries were thus indicated. (Excluded from these are obviously move one, and the sentence-internal move 19.) The 13 paragraph boundaries indicated in the test each got the average of 11 markings (i.e. 69% of the potential markings). And move boundaries (of any kind) were marked through paragraphing by half of the subjects, on average.

The paragraph markings in this text follow the hierarchy of its moves. Hence, none, or just one or two markings appear at the outset of a minor move. Mid-moves, on the contrary, were signalled by at least one third but mostly, by the large majority of the subjects. And nearly all of the subjects indicated the boundaries between major moves and sub-sections. The only section boundary in the text, in terms of its content, appears right at the end of the text. This last sentence of the text forms the third of the author's paragraphs. Yet it was only signalled by 63% of the subjects, who overall, chunked the text into much smaller parts than the author.

Starting from the beginning of the text, move two was marked with a paragraph boundary by 38% of the subjects, while move three got 81% of the potential markings. The minor move four was only signalled by one subject, the next mid-move, again, by 63%. The following two major moves (move six, and move seven - which is the starting point of the author's second paragraph) were both indicated as new paragraphs by all but two of the subjects (i.e. 88%). After a minor move (two markings), the sub-section boundary in move nine was noted by all but one (94%). This is the move to the other building across the yard. The next mid-move then got 75%, while the following major move 11 again got 94% of the potential paragraph markings. The subsequent three minor moves were totally ignored but probably because of this first longer series of minor moves, the following mid-move to a new room was signalled by all of the subjects. After that, we again get a minor move, ignored, and then the third sub-section boundary with 81% of the potential markings.

Finally, a look at the size of the locatives reveals that clusters of adverbials always evoked paragraph markings from all but one or two of the subjects. Single markers of textual shifts, again, evoked the average of 43% of the potential paragraph markings. These boundaries, however, contain an extreme variation in the number of markings. The same applies to differences between and within the categories of adverbial and non-adverbial signals in the text. In this light, the size of shift markers seems decisive only when it is deviant, which in this text involves a size larger than the average, i.e. a cluster of two sentence-initial adverbials. All in all, the different paragraphings of the GFM text may be claimed to indicate boundaries between the different moves of the text, and further, to a large extent, reflect the hierarchy of the topic entity, which was the basis of the text segmentation in 6.2.3.1. above.

6.2.4.4. EDIN

The test ended with the EDIN text, which was paragraphed by 16 native speakers of English (see App. 1 and 2). Since the author's paragraphs were to some extent considered in 6.2.3.2., above, the present discussion may conveniently be started from the subjects' agreement with the original paragraphs. While the original text contains 15 paragraphs, the average frequency of the subjects' paragraphs was somewhat higher, i.e. 18.31 paragraphs. One might assume that the author of an instructive text makes use of paragraphing as a clue to the content and/or structure of the text. Yet in connection with the analyses above, we have seen that this is not always the case: eye appeal also seems to be at issue in this kind of text. All in all, however, the average of 11.14 markings appeared at the outset of the sentences starting a new paragraph in the original. In other words, the author's paragraphs got the average of 70% of the potential markings (N=16). This figure must be compared, first of all, with the mean of markings across all the potential paragraph boundaries, and secondly, across the sentences that were paragraph-internal in the original. Hence, excluding the first sentence of the text, the mean for any potential position where a new paragraph might be started was 5.65 markings, i.e. 35% of the potential markings. Further, the mean for the positions where paragraph markings actually occurred was 7.49 markings, or 47% of the potential markings. These figures are clearly lower than the average number of paragraph markings at the original paragraph boundaries. Moreover, the mean for the paragraph markings appearing within the author's paragraphs was 3.81 per sentence, and 5.96 for the sentences that got one or more markings. These correspond to 24% and 37% of the potential markings, respectively. Hence, the subjects' paragraphing may be concluded to agree with the original to a considerable degree.

Some of the author's paragraphs were, however, only signalled by very few subjects. Conversely, some paragraph-internal sentences in the original were unanimously, or nearly so, indicated as the starting point of a new paragraph by the subjects. Hence, for instance, paragraph 5, which was in 6.2.3.2. (p. 205) suggested to follow eye appeal, got 10 markings (63% of the potential markings). This must be compared, first of all, to the 100 per cent of markings at the outset of paragraph 4. Secondly, paragraph 6 was also separated by all but one of the subjects (i.e. 94% of the potential markings). Further, several sentences qualified as candidates for the task of introducing a new paragraph within the long paragraph 4: consider its second (63% of the potential markings), third (75%), and sixth (50%) sentences.

Another interesting instance of disagreement appears at the end of the text. While the original paragraph 14 was separated by only six of the subjects (38%), its third sentence was unanimously marked as the outset of a new paragraph. Motivations may be sought in the preceding text, and the clearly disjunctive marker, *in the next village of Balerno*, at the beginning of the unambiguously separated move 44. Other mismatches between the author's paragraphs and those of the subjects' will be considered below.

A comparison of the subjects' paragraph boundaries with the textual shifts, such as the boundaries between major and minor moves and sections, reveals quite a few coincidences between the two. Moves, rather than move-internal sentences, were separated by a paragraph marking. And major moves were separated clearly more often than minor moves. The mean across major moves was 10.48 markings (i.e. 66% of the potential markings), and across minor moves 1.79 markings (11%). Finally, section boundaries got the average of 14.67 markings, i.e. 92% of the potential markings.

The paragraphing test thus seems to provide support for the hierarchic segmentation of the text into sections, major moves, and minor moves. At the same time, the test may be argued to support the claim that sentence-initial locatives signal boundaries between such textual units. Sentence-initial adverbials of place evoked the average of 8.62 markings (i.e. 54% of the potential markings), and moves starting with a non-adverbial signal got the average of 6.12 markings (38%). The mean for paragraph markings coinciding with clusters of two sentence-initial adverbials was 9.46 markings (59%). These may thus be regarded as a more efficient signal than a single sentence-initial adverbial, which evoked the average of 7.77 markings (i.e. 49%) - also well above the averaged percentage of 35 across all the potential slots for a paragraph marking. Of the non-adverbial markers, locative NPs elicited the average of 6.75 markings (42%), which proves their function as signals of textual shifts, together with the locative adverbials. It is evident that locative NPs, together with the route instruction in move 11, considerably add to the averaged number of paragraph markings at the outset of non-adverbial moves. New topics were seldom interpreted as signals of paragraph boundaries in this text, their mean being 0.73 markings, i.e. 4%.

Finally, the moves containing route instructions were typically separated as a new paragraph: they got the average of 14 markings, i.e. 88%. As such moves do not in this text take the text receiver all the way to a particular sight, the following move doing so is typically interpreted as belonging to the same paragraph. Hence, despite adverbial signals, the moves following route instructions thus got the average of 4.75 markings (30% of the potential markings), which is below the average for markings across the sentence boundaries of the text (i.e. 35% of the potential markings). Route instructions also start with adverbial signals, or else, they incorporate such signals, as in move 11. Paragraph markings at the outset of route instructions, and after them, support the analysis of such moves as textually crucial. In content, however, they are subsidiary to the subsequent major move, which takes the text receiver all the way to a sight and then gives her/him information about this sight (cf. also discussion in 6.2.3.2. above, pp. 208-209).

Let us now take another look at the boundaries between the different moves in the text. Within the first two sections of the text (the original paragraphs 1-3), paragraph markings clearly indicate the hierarchy of the topic entity used as a basis for text segmentation in 6.2.3.2., above. Hence, major moves are signalled by the vast majority of the subjects, varying from 13 to 15 of the potential 16 markings (i.e. 81% to 94%). However, moves following route instruction, as pointed out above, are apparently interpreted as a continuation of that instruction, and they are thus separated from it by only a few subjects (cf. moves 2 and 7). Sentence-initial adverbials obviously signal boundaries in the text but the subjects may in such instances have given a heavier weight to the content of the text than to the number of sentence-initial adverbials.

The beginning of section three was separated by all of the subjects. The only other boundary marked in 100 per cent of the instances is at the end of the text, between moves 43 and 44. This is not a paragraph boundary in the original, as pointed out above (cf. p. 243). From section three onwards, the text instructs its reader to take a number of asides from the main route. Section three thus contains less hierarchy than the first two sections. This seems to strain text comprehension and result in a more varying paragraphing pattern. The number of paragraph markings at the outset of the author's paragraphs, or at the outset of major moves, ranges here from 4 to 15 (i.e. 25% to 94% of the potential markings). The markings between the sentences of the original paragraphs 4 and 5 were considered above (cf. p. 243). Also, the effect of moves containing route instruction is again manifested here (cf. moves 11 and 12, and moves 13 and 14). Move 19 - signalled with the help of the initial adverbial *back on the main road* - was again marked by all but one of the subjects. As it was the only unambiguously signalled boundary in this section, it might be interpreted as a (sub-)section boundary in the hierarchic segmentation of the text. It is followed by two minor moves (moves 20 and 21), which got as many as 38% of the potential markings. They are part of the important major move 19, and they come after an extended description of that move as a whole (cf. also p. 215 in 6.2.3.2. above). After the topic sentence in move 31, separated by 75% of the subjects, the series of minor moves receive few or no markings, except for the last of them, move 39. In 6.2.3.2. above (pp. 217), though categorized as major, this move was regarded as intermediate between the major and minor moves. This status is reflected in the paragraphing test (25% of the potential markings). Most of the major moves here start with one or two adverbials of place. Most of the minor ones, again, begin with a new topic, which does not seem to function as a paragraphing signal in this text.

Section four, finally, received 81% of the potential markings at its outset (cf. moves 40 and 41). In line with the role of route instruction, the following move, which is separated by a paragraph boundary in the original text, was only marked so by 38% of the subjects (move 42; cf. also *here* in its adverbial marker). The following minor move 43, introduced by a locative NP, was separated by the majority of the subjects, and it might be given an intermediate status in a more delicate hierarchy of moves (cf. p. 218 in 6.2.3.2. above). In the light of the paragraph markings, move 43 might also be considered major. It is possible that the clearly indicated starting point of the new section, after the long and complicated section three, affected the paragraph markings in the last part of the text. This is even more conspicuous in the final two moves of the text, which were signalled by all, and nearly all (75%), of the subjects.

All in all, the subjects' paragraphing of the EDIN text reflects its overall content and provides support for the segmentation made in 6.2.3.2. Only two levels of moves were separated in this text but the results of the test show that a more delicate hierarchy would also be possible. In view of the analysis of the chain of locative expressions signalling the TSC in the EDIN text, it seems obvious that paragraph markings tend to occur in front of explicit signals of the text producer's text strategy.

To conclude, the purpose of the paragraphing test was to provide data for checking the text segmentation used as a basis for the analyses in 6.6.2. and 6.2.3. above. Paragraphing may be based on a number of different criteria, and the results of the test manifest individual variation. Still, the majority of the paragraph markings clearly reflect a content-based chunking of the sample texts. Generally speaking, the results of the test seem to provide support for the above segmentation of the four texts. Further, they seem to confirm the hierarchy of text structure to a considerable extent. Finally, paragraph divisions often coincided with the appearance of a text-strategically important temporal or locative adverbial at the outset of a new textual unit. But the paragraphing test was in general not delicate enough to capture markers of local strategies.

The subjects' paragraphing of the two sample texts from tourist guides seems to indicate a need to structure these instructions into a large number of paragraphs, a policy not followed in the original (cf. the discussion on pp. 196-197 in 6.2.3.1. above, and esp. Note 66). The sentences in these texts are fairly long, and the subjects only included the mean of two and a half sentences in their paragraphs. The sample narratives, again, consist of short sentences, and nearly six sentences, i.e. more than the double, were accordingly included in the average subject's paragraph in these texts. Compared to the original stories, fewer paragraphs were separated, which may but need not point to the activated narrative schema facilitating the adult speakers' structuring of near-prototype narratives.

6.3. Clause-initial adverbials of time and place

After the analysis of the TSCs in narratives and procedural place descriptions, let us now proceed to the level of the clause and sentence to examine the adverbials of time and place in front position in these texts and in the rest of the materials investigated for the purposes of the present study (see Chapter 3). Indications of the hypothesized strength of the TSC may be found, if we take a look at (a) the verbs in the clauses with an initial adverbial of time or place (see 6.3.2.), and (b) the relative order of these and other adverbials in front position (see 6.3.3.). But to start with, a consideration of some semantic and structural aspects of the text-strategically important adverbials in the data will be in order.

6.3.1. Semantic and structural aspects

Clause-initial temporal and spatial references belonging to a text-strategic chain typically denote 'position'. In the temporally steered texts, adverbials denoting 'frequency' or 'duration' were found at the beginning of descriptive passages. The adverbials of definite time in the temporally structured texts could above be ranged on a temporally sequential line (cf. also the spatially organized texts "moving" the text receiver forward on a route). Most of the adverbials denoting 'duration' or 'frequency' could also be related to that time line. Some of the signals in the chain forming a temporal TSC in the text indicate temporal adjacency or temporal distance between successive actions or events, while others mark a temporal overlap between the actions or events in the textual unit they introduce and those contained in other units of the text. In addition to simultaneity, flashbacks and flashforwards may be signalled through initially placed temporal markers.

In place descriptions adverbials indicating 'direction' ('source' or 'goal') or 'distance' were occasionally found within the main or the local chains of references to 'position'. We have, however, seen above that 'distance' of the new stop from the preceding one or from the beginning of the tour is preferred in certain types of locatively steered texts (see 6.2.3.3. above, p. 220ff.). Such texts also make use of 'direction' or 'posi-

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tion' secondarily, and these are then given after reference to 'distance'. Positional continuity may here appear locally, within a stop on the route, such as the limited area of a village. The typical text-strategic locatives in travel-guide texts, however, denote 'position'.

The large majority of the text-strategically important adverbials in the data were prepositional phrases (e.g. *in the morning, on Friday; at the south end of Dalry Road, on the wall*). Next, several of the temporal adverbials were closed-class adverbs (see CGEL:71-72, 489; e.g. *then*) or NPs (e.g. *that night*). For types of adverbial structure, see CGEL:489-490. Furthermore, most adverbials, and in particular adverbials of time, were two-word items. Spatial adverbials tended, however, to be longer, most often four-word items. Adverbials signalling a TSC were rarely the shortest constituents in the clause, and infrequently the longest. The locative TSC seems to permit a heavy condensation especially in the travel-guide texts, as end-weight (see Leech 1983:65ff.) then coincides with the long rhemes of the sentences that the text producer wishes to give due prominence to. It is presumably because of these "endless" rhemes that the initial adverbial or cluster of adverbials may also here be quite long, cf. e.g. (86) in 6.2.3.3. above, p. 220. In the following narrative example, which shows commentization of *the tiger* in the peak episode of the text, sentence-initial adverbials are exceptionally long.[79]

(97) And then at last, just when Tommy was sure his tiger was lost and gone forever - he happened to look out of his window at the bare oak tree. And there, hanging over a low branch, and waving one paw to say, 'Come and get me - I thought **you** were lost!' was the tiger. (Jackson 1960:18)

The temporal and spatial adverbials in the continuity chains may be related to the categories of *absolute*, *text-related*, and *speech-act related* references (Enkvist 1981:105). Hence, most of them were text-related (e.g. *then, the next morning, ten minutes later; a short distance beyond on*

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[79] The episode conforms to experiential iconicity. Consider in particular the process leading the participant to catch sight of the lost tiger from this perspective (cf. out of the window -> oak tree -> low branch -> tiger). Similarly, in travel-guide texts the iconic ordering of linguistic elements greatly helps to guide the text receiver to a sight (e.g. village -> centre -> exact site of the sight). Cf. also 8.1. below.

the south side of Lanark Road). Some were absolute in the sense of *one evening in spring* or *at Juniper Green*. Absolute adverbials are more often found among the travel-guide locatives than among the text-strategically important adverbials of time in fairy tales. In general, absolute adverbials rather appear in expository narratives (cf. e.g. *in 1481* and the other dates in (23) in 6.1.5.2. above, pp. 125-126), or in expository place descriptions (cf. e.g. *in the Chugach mountains* in (1) in 5.2.2. above, pp. 68-69). A few speech-act related items appeared in the narratives (e.g. *this time* at the end of CATS). With the potential exception of the occasional *here*, place descriptions did not favour speech-act related adverbials. This third type of reference may presumably rather be found to abound in oral narratives and place descriptions, e.g. *an hour ago* or *behind that monument over there*.

The majority of the clause-initial adverbials of time and place were anaphoric. They then usually referred to the preceding sentence or to the preceding paragraph. In narratives such longer and shorter references were both regularly found, whereas in place descriptions the anaphoric link typically extended to the preceding sentence. As for clause-initial adverbials, narratives thus exposed anaphoric references further back in the text than place descriptions (cf., however, the complexity and length of sentences in tourist guides, resulting from the high degree of condensation). For a discussion of the span of such anaphoric references, see 7.3.3. below (p. 295ff.).

Finally, let us take a closer look at clause-initial and sentence-initial clusters of adverbials, which were above seen to appear particularly often in travel-guide texts. They are, of course, of interest for us from the perspective of their relative ordering, which will be considered in 6.3.3. below. The use of single adverbials and clusters to signal major and minor boundaries in a text has been discussed above (cf. also 6.4. below). And the information status of text-strategically important adverbials, including move-initial clusters, will be treated in Chapter 7, below.

Strategy-marking adverbials forming a clause-initial or sentence-initial cluster are relatively independent of each other. Their respective positions are often interchangeable both at the beginning and at the end of the clause, out of their textual context, and they may usually be separated from one another in various ways. Commas may, of course, be necessary around one of them in some of these variations. Conversely, two adverbials of which one modifies the other have above been treated as one adverbial. Hence, *in the room off to the l.* in move 5 in GFM is regarded as one locative. Its two parts may not be separated from one another in the way two distinct adverbials allow, nor can we change the order of its parts without a change of meaning. This is thus a restrictive pair of adverbials (i.e. 'in the room off to the l. rather than to the r.'). Consider, next, a cluster of adverbials, such as the one at the beginning of move 9 in EDIN. Here, we are syntactically free to change the order of the two adverbials or to separate them from one another. It should, however, be evident at this point in the discussion why (98a) has the best textual fit in the EDIN text. Moreover, there are semantic differences between the different alternatives in (98) below; the purpose here is to discuss the syntactic independence of the two adverbials from one another, as compared to the restrictive pair of adverbials considered above.

(98) a. On the south side of Gorgie Road, in Stenhouse Mill Lane, is Stenhouse Mansion.
b. In Stenhouse Mill Lane, on the south side of Gorgie Road, is Stenhouse Mansion.
c. Stenhouse Mansion is in Stenhouse Mill Lane, on the south side of Gorgie Road.
d. Stenhouse Mansion is on the south side of Gorgie Road, in Stenhouse Mill Lane.
e. On the south side of Gorgie Road is Stenhouse Mansion, in Stenhouse Mill Lane.
f. In Stenhouse Mill Lane is Stenhouse Mansion, on the south side of Gorgie Road.

A scale of independence of one adverbial from another is discernible in the text-strategic clusters. The scope of one of the adverbials, an anaphoric link performed by one of them, their different informational status, or ambiguity may decide on the potential alternatives. Ultimately, as we have seen, the text and discourse, in the sense of the total strategy of the text, determine the actual form of the individual clause and sentence, in view of an optimal textual fit.

Let us now proceed to the clausal neighbourhood of adverbials signalling a TSC and investigate their verbal ties.

6.3.2. Verbal ties and the form of the clause

It is of interest to study the relation of the initially placed adverbial to the verb of the clause or sentence. We can do so with the help of the syntactic model presented in 2.4. above (see pp. 22-27). In terms of such a model, adverbials may be classified according to the ease with which they can move within the clause or sentence. We have seen that text type and text-strategic continuity are factors strong enough to force to the front adverbials of any category. And they must be concluded to be particularly powerful in the instances where V^1 adverbials appear in front position, separated from their tight valency bonds.

Adverbials denoting time and place occur in initial position most often when they modify the whole sentence in the narratives and procedural place descriptions investigated for the purposes of the present study. For a discussion of the double-scope effect of topicalized adverbials, see 2.4. above, p. 25. Expectedly, the large majority of the initially positioned V^2 adverbials in the text types under investigation refer to time, and they appear in narratives. Procedural place descriptions typically contain initial place adverbials, which are fronted even when they are tied by valency to their verb, i.e. even when they are V^1 adverbials. The verb is usually a "pivotal" *be*, which permits the "swivelling" of its two poles, as pointed out in 6.2.3.1. above (see (70) on p. 200; cf. Enkvist 1987a:20). V^1 adverbials thus practically speaking denote place in these adverbial data.

The verb in a clause beginning with a text-strategically important adverbial is normally finite, and is typically 'dynamic' in narratives, and 'stative' in procedural place descriptions (cf. CGEL:177-178). Further, the verb is in the active voice, and the clause is usually an affirmative declarative main clause. It is basically the first clause in the sentence. The sentence, in turn, may be paragraph-initial in place descriptions but not infrequently it also occurs within the paragraph. In narratives, on the contrary, such a sentence is typically the first or the last in the paragraph (cf.

the effect of suspense created by the anticipated shift, discussed in 6.2.2.1. above, p. 140; cf. also Giora 1983).

In procedural place descriptions the clause containing the strategy-marking adverbial has repeatedly the basic structure of SVA_s, swivelled round to A_sVS (e.g. *opposite the front door is a glass case*).[80] The clause may also be of the form SVC_s, and a text-strategic V^2 adverbial of place then appears initially instead of finally (e.g. *opposite Inglis Green Road, the Cross Keys Inn is mid 19th century*). The awkwardness of the adverbial in final position in a SVC_s clause is due to the blocking new-topic effect. In 6.2.3.2., above, such sentences were shown to combine a move-marking clause and a descriptive clause, which usually contains information about a sight (e.g. ’opposite Inglis Green Road is the Cross Keys Inn. It is mid 19th century’). Other patterns such as SVO_d or SV, with an initial V^2 place adverbial, seem to occur less frequently, and then in connection with route instruction (e.g. *at Juniper Green---the road crosses the old city boundary; at the south end of Dalry Road the route divides*). In narratives, on the other hand, the usual clause patterns seem to be SVO_d, SV, and SVA_s, in which an initial V^2 adverbial of time appears (e.g. *first she tried the great big chair; that night, the cats disappeared; then Goldilocks sat down on the medium-sized chair*). Other adverbials frequently appear later in these clauses (cf. e.g. *on Wednesday, she bought too much chopped meat at the butcher's shop*).

Locatives, including of course V^1 adverbials, tend to occur clause-finally in narratives (e.g. *in the morning she ran to the window*). In place descriptions, again, temporal adverbials (V^1 and V^2) are normally placed clause-finally (cf. e.g. paragraph 11 in EDIN, listing the private houses in the streets of Spylaw). In this type of text, as we have seen, the high degree of condensation tends to favour long and complex sentences. Information about a sight is often expressed with the help of various constructions at the end of the same sentence that starts with the location and thereafter mentions the sight.

In sum, clause-initial adverbials of time signalling textual shifts in narratives are normally of the type V^2. In place descriptions, both V^1 and V^2 adverbials appear clause-initially to signal the locative TSC. These texts thus show that the force of the TSC is strong enough to pull to the front any clause constituent, even a V^1 adverbial, if it is needed in that position to signal a textual shift.

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[80] *Key*: A = adverbial (A_s = subject-related adverbial), C = complement (C_s = subject complement), O = object (O_d = direct object), S = subject, V = verb. For clause patterns, see CGEL:49ff., 719ff.

6.3.3. Relative order

In the preceding section the focus was on the verb and the form of the clause starting with a text-strategically important adverbial of time or place in narratives and procedural place descriptions. In this section we shall see that the strength of a temporal or locative TSC is also manifested in the relative ordering of sentence-initial adverbials. It seems that if several *homosemantic* or *heterosemantic* adverbials (Enkvist 1976a:58-59) occur in front position with only one of them belonging to a chain of text-strategically important adverbials, then that particular adverbial tends to come before the others.

Consider examples (99) and (100). They come from a guidebook text with a spatio-temporal strategy, discussed in 6.2.3.3. above (pp. 221-224). Here the first adverbial belongs to a chain of similar kinds of adverbials used to structure the text on the global level. Therefore, it is placed before the second, which may be regarded as an additional adverbial of setting giving further information concerning the location.

(99) *At about 25min into the walk, at Rochão*, you lose the levada. (Underwood and Underwood 1983:62)

(100) *At 2h35min, after passing the wide and pleasant Boaventura valley*, you'll reach the best picnic spot on the walk - anywhere in the hidden, gorse-golden valley of the Ribeira de João Frino. (Underwood and Underwood 1983:63)

Examples of clusters of clause-initial adverbials abound in the materials listed in Chapter 3. The majority of these contain homosemantic adverbials. When the adverbials are homosemantic, as in (100) above, the first of them typically belongs to the global chain of text-strategically important adverbials, while the other(s) convey additional and often more specific information. Similarly, heterosemantic adverbials clustering at the beginning of the sentence tend to follow the order of placing the text-strategically important adverbial first, before other adverbials, as in (99) above.

When, however, initial adverbials are used to mark both global and local shifts in the text, those denoting a local strategy seem to precede the ones referring to a global strategy. Consider e.g. move 45 in the EDIN text, repeated here as (101), the beginning of episode 26 in CATS, see (102) below, or the locative *in the secondary schools* in the temporally steered passage of a book review in (103).

(101) *Beyond Balerno, on the north side of the main A70 road*, are the twin hills of Kaimes and Dalmahoy, each with the faint remains of an Iron Age hill-fort on its summit. (EDIN:15/45)

(102) *Then one day*, winter came. (CATS:26/45)

(103) *In 1935* Labour returned to office and *when Peter Fraser, later Prime Minister, became Minister of Education, with Dr Beeby as Director of Education*, substantial changes were introduced. Secondary schools became universal and free, and universities accepted all those who had passed the school certificate and were "accredited" by their secondary schools. A minority of candidates who were not accredited could take a university entrance examination, but the main responsibility for the choice of university entrants lay with the schools. *In the secondary schools, from 1945*, there has been a broad curriculum. *In 1962* the Currie Commission reappraised the system, and--- (TLS 21/9/73:1089)

An adverbial that forms a local link in a text refers to the immediately preceding textual context, while the adverbial forming a global link may refer further back in the text. The adverbial conveying the local link is thus more activated than the one indicating a global shift, which may have to be reactivated at that point even if it were by that time a well-established notion. To put it in another way, the adverbial forming a local link tends to convey information that is more given than the information carried by the adverbial belonging to the global chain of text-strategic elements. The information status of clause-initial adverbials will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Yet another factor influencing the order of two clause-initially placed adverbials is experiential iconicity. Not infrequently, in the type of reader-oriented texts discussed here, the order of these items conforms to the story-time or to the order of the steps that the text receiver will have to take to follow an instructive text. Consider the following examples. In (104), the first adverbial includes the second one, and the whole sentence reflects the order of the story-time (in the sense that first the next morning dawned, then the couple woke up, and finally, they ran to the window). In (105), the distance is indicated before the direction as the tourist might otherwise turn off from the main road too early, having interpreted the distance as referring to the new direction. Cf. also, for instance, the order of the initial locatives in (86) in 6.2.3.3. above, p. 220.

(104) *The next morning, as soon as they woke up*, they ran to the window to admire their garden. (CATS:2/3)

(105) *A short distance beyond on the south side of Lanark Road* are the streets of Spylaw, containing several private houses by Lorimer. (EDIN:11/31)

In 6.2.2. and 6.2.3. the order of the individual clusters of clause-initial and sentence-initial adverbials was dealt with in the context of the respective texts. It was found that the more general notion was repeatedly expressed before the more particular one, in the sense that the second could be included in the first. The second could thus be seen to specify the sense of the first adverbial.

In the light of the above examples and the data listed in Chapter 3, the strategic ordering of initial elements in a clause or sentence occurring after a textual boundary seems to be the following:

conjunction (conjunct)	>	local strategy adverbial	>	global strategy adverbial	>	other adverbial	>	subject

If, however, too many adverbials seem to cluster at the beginning of the clause, there is a tendency for the conjunct to move into a later slot within the clause (cf. the discussion of the grammatical and the textual or semantic peripherality in CGEL:650-651). Other adverbials favour non-initial position in a clause starting with an adverbial that belongs to a chain of text-strategic elements, as has been pointed out above. In other words, when choices have to be made, the text producer seems to place text-strategically important adverbials early in the clause containing a textual shift. What seems crucial in the above ordering is the tendency of local strategy markers to precede signals of a global text strategy.

In (99) above, on p. 254, we saw a temporal main-chain adverbial precede a locative adverbial of setting which does not form continuity in the text. In (103) on p. 255, again, a locative signalling a local link comes before the temporal marker of the more global strategy in the passage. Hence, it seems that the sentence-grammar ordering of adverbials is overruled by text-strategic considerations. From the sentence-level perspective, other things being equal, adverbials of time tend to come after those of place in clause-final position, while the opposite tends to be true at the beginning of a clause (for a discussion of the relative ordering of adverbials of time and place, and the different syntactic and semantic factors influencing their respective positions, see e.g. CGEL:565-566, 649ff.; cf. also the scale of membership in the category of V^2 adverbials discussed in 2.4. above, p. 26). An adverbial that is part of a chain of elements forming continuity in the text tends to precede the other adverbials in the clause or sentence. And an adverbial forming a local link in the text tends to precede an adverbial that belongs to the global chain of strategy markers. The next chapter will show that the information status of adverbials forming local and global links in the text has a crucial influence on such ordering.

In the following example, a temporal adverbial of setting precedes a locative which, nevertheless, belongs to the global TSC in the text (the entire text is given as (58) in 6.2.3. above, pp. 191-192).

(106) *Once, on the rock island*, there was the half-eaten carcass of a deer, which smelled like iron, like rust rubbed into your hands so that it mixes with sweat. (Atwood 1984:9)

This ordering breaks the spatial TSC in the text without explicitly, however, turning the description into a narrative. The surface features of descriptive text are maintained, and the sentence-initial text-related reference to the rock island connects this last paragraph of the text to the preceding place description. The effect of the paragraph-initial adverbial of time 'when', however, is conspicuously connected with the peak of the text, suggesting, at the same time, an underlying narrative discourse (cf. the discussion in 6.2.3. above, pp. 191-194).

6.4. Interim summary

The concern of the present chapter has been with text-strategic continuity, in particular the realization of the temporal and spatial TSCs through clause-initial adverbials of time and place. In 6.1.1. the notion of TSC was presented, and 6.1.2. consisted of a survey of different types of continuities. In the discussion of TSC and text type, it became evident that some TSCs may be prototypical text-structuring devices in certain types of text. Text-strategic continuities were seen to cooccur, thus yielding a classification of single-, dual-, and multiple-strategy texts. Further, combinations of text-strategic continuities were discussed in 6.1.5.

Section 6.2. concentrated on an in-depth analysis of two narratives and two procedural place descriptions, which all represent reader-oriented texts. They differ in the degree of condensation, which can occasionally be extremely high in tourist-guide texts. Both narratives and procedural place descriptions make use of experiential iconicity. These premises may to some extent account for the characteristic interplay of the different continuities in these texts.

The sample narratives were first segmented according to established models of narrative structure, while a content-based segmentation was applied to the two procedural place descriptions. The analysis of the TSCs in these texts showed, first of all, that they bind the text together by creating cohesion and coherence. At the same time, the different TSCs were seen to segment the text for the benefit of the text receiver by signalling textual boundaries. In narratives, attention was mainly paid to the cooccurring temporal and participant continuities. Their exponents marked textual shifts both on the global and local levels. In procedural place descriptions, the spatial continuity was noted to be a dominant text-structuring device. In the analysis the focus was on the role of adverbials of time and place in realizing the temporal and the spatial TSCs. Text-strategically important adverbials are typically positioned initially in a clause or sentence that starts a new move, episode, sub-section, or other textual unit. When no such shift to a new textual unit is indicated they usually appear non-initially. In 6.2.3.3. a special type of procedural place description was dealt with.

Section 6.2.4. was a report of a small-scale paragraphing test, which was conducted to find support for the segmentation of the sample texts made earlier in the chapter. The subjects were asked to indicate paragraph boundaries in the unsegmented sample texts. It is evident that they used a variety of criteria. Yet paragraph markings seemed to reflect the content of the text. In this light, the main results of the test can be compared with the text segmentation used as a basis for the analyses. The test provided support for the underlying narrative schema recursively present in the sample stories and the content-based segmentation of the tourist-guide texts. Further, paragraph divisions coincided to a considerable degree with the occurrence of a text-strategically important adverbial at the outset of a new textual unit.

In 6.3., once their textual environment had been investigated, initially-placed adverbials of time and place were discussed from the perspective of the clause and sentence in which they appear. Among the aspects considered were the relationship of the strategy-marking adverbial to its verb and the relative order in clusters of clause-initial adverbials.

Why, then, does a particular TSC become realized in a text? We have seen that the notion chosen for continuity is close to the discourse topic and that certain types of text tend to display certain continuities or combinations of continuities. The text producer's total text strategy may be assumed to include decisions concerning the global and local TSCs and their concrete linguistic manifestations on the textual surface. If choices between different continuities have to be made, for instance, for the purposes of text condensation, the more implicit continuities tend to yield as they may be indicated with the help of experiential iconicity or other continuities.

Narratives display the temporal, participant, and action continuities. Temporal markers are used when the text-time deviates in some respect from the story-time, or else, to signal the temporal TSC, crucial in this type of text. Owing to their position at the outset of a new textual unit, such markers may at the same time fulfil a number of functions in the text and discourse. The temporal TSC is often the dominant global strategy in the narrative, holding the text together and hence allowing for the breaks in participant and action continuities. The peak of a story is usually structured differently from the pre-peak and post-peak section. Hence, the global temporal TSC may become implicit in the peak episodes.

In procedural place descriptions, spatiality usually merges with the global topic continuity, and we may find text-strategic chains containing markers of the two joined continuities. More often, however, spatiality is chosen for the dominant continuity. This is so because in this type of text, the spatial TSC is the most economical solution: in addition to the chain of locations that the reader is supposed to proceed to, it conveys the implicit continuities of topic, time, and action. The last two are then indicated with the help of experiential iconicity. The locative continuity is in this type of text the least implicit type of continuity, and therefore, it tends to be selected if condensation is needed. It displays the order in which the sights are supposed to be visited. Also, the route may then manifest the taxonomy of the topic entity. Thus, a locative TSC is profitably used in tourist guides, instead of the strategies of the instructive type of text. Instructive text might here demand an explicit action continuity, a locative continuity, and possibly also a temporal and a participant continuity (cf. route instructions, which do not usually contain any information about a sight and thus easily manifest action continuity).

It seems that the different markers of a TSC also signal a hierarchy of textual units. Major boundaries in a text tend to be marked differently from minor boundaries. More specifically, major shifts tend to contain markers which are larger in number and/or size than those indicating minor shifts in the same text. In procedural place descriptions, the different levels of moves also seem to partly contain different types of signals.

Further, major moves tend here to be indicated with markers that are more explicit than the ones used at minor moves. Such differences were above seen to match the hierarchy of the topic entity, or the extent to which the text receiver is instructed to move. In narratives, these hierarchic differences essentially reflect the underlying narrative patterns. Also, they were noted to participate in the coding of tension in the text: both anticipated shifts and prolonged shifts were discovered to mark a growing tension in the sample stories.

The differences in the signalling of major vs. minor shifts in the text are to some extent due to an inheritance of aspects from a higher level: the inherited aspects are assumed to be kept activated within a major unit of text, i.e. over minor boundaries, which may be signalled with the help of only one marker, and/or a smaller and/or more implicit marker than the ones in use at major boundaries. The inherited text-strategic aspects may (temporarily) be discarded at the next major boundary, as the text producer is presumed to help the text receiver by signalling the relevant text-strategic aspects of the new major textual unit - to be reactivated or created at that point in the text. Ultimately, the signalling of major and minor boundaries with different means on the textual surface is a way of conveying the hierarchy of text structure through the perforce linear expression of language: through the use of more linguistic material at the outset of major units of text, as compared to the beginning of minor units, the text producer can make use of iconicity. In other words, the size of the markers then forms an iconic reflection of the size of the boundaries. Major and minor shifts will be further considered in 7.3.3. below (p. 295ff.).

Finally, it should be evident at this point in the discussion that grammatical phenomena such as adverbial placement may have important textual and discoursal functions, which must enter into their study. The above analysis has demonstrated that the placement of adverbials of time and place varies according to text type, and that it is influenced and often determined by the TSC chosen for the structuring of the text, locally or globally. Initially placed adverbials signalling such a continuity form a chain which creates cohesion and coherence in the text. At the same time, they serve to signal text segmentation, and a number of other important textual and discoursal phenomena. As a clue to the text producer's text strategy, they thus facilitate the receiver's task of text processing. Such a perspective makes it clear that the form of an individual sentence is to a large extent dictated by the text and discourse that the sentence is part of: sentences function in the service of the text, which is why they should be given the best possible textual fit. Text and discourse are forces strong enough to make full use of the syntactic potential of a language, even when this means stretching the valency-bonds to an extremity, for instance, by separating V^1 adverbials from their verbs in order to place them clause-initially.

On several occasions above, information dynamics has been intruding into the discussion. For instance, it has been noted that adverbials indicating a local strategy tend to precede adverbials that signal a more global strategy in clause-initial and sentence-initial clusters of strategy markers. Local strategy markers form a link to an entity that has been recently mentioned in the preceding text, and they may thus be more activated or given than adverbials signalling a global strategy. Let us now go on to discuss the information status of the different strategy-marking adverbials present in the sample texts investigated above, to examine how such considerations tally with what we have found so far.

7. INFORMATION DYNAMICS

7.1. Introduction

We have seen above that text-strategic continuity has a crucial influence on the placement of adverbials of time and place in certain types of text. Another, related factor to be dealt with in this connection is *information dynamics* or the distribution of given and new information in the text (cf. e.g. Enkvist 1978b:159; 1981:107ff.).

To start with, a convenient distinction may be made between *information structure* and *information dynamics*. Information structure is here used to refer to the forces that operate within a clause or a sentence. Hence, it encompasses notions such as the *theme* and *rheme*, or the *topic* and *comment*, or the *topic* and *focus*, of a clause or of a sentence, *given* and *new information*, the scale of *communicative dynamism* (*CD*) within a sentence, and so forth - depending on which school of linguistics we choose to adhere to (see e.g. Chafe 1976; Clark and Clark 1977:92; Dahl 1976; Firbas 1986; Halliday 1967; Sgall et al. 1986:175ff.; for definitions of the terms *theme* and *rheme*, and *topic* and *comment*, see Enkvist 1984:53-54; for a discussion of the notion of *information*, see Dahl 1976). The concept of information dynamics, on the other hand, includes that of information structure. It covers the overall distribution of given and new, or thematic and rhematic, information in the text. It may thus operate on several levels, within and between clauses, sentences, paragraphs, and larger chunks of text. Information dynamics may be viewed in terms of *theme progression* (Daneš 1974) or *theme dynamics* (Enkvist 1973), proceeding from one clause to another, one sentence to another, one paragraph to another, and so forth.[1] In the light of the discussion of text as structure and as process in 1.1. above (p. 3ff.), it may be noted that the information status of an individual linguistic element is bound to vary from one moment to another in the process of textualization. Hence, the status of an item may look different depending on whether we take a look forward or backward at a particular point in the text.[2]

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[1] Enkvist uses the following four labels for four different patterns of theme dynamics: *theme iteration*, *theme progression*, *rheme iteration*, *rheme regression*. In theme iteration the theme of a clause or sentence is linked with that of the preceding one, while in rheme iteration a link is made between the rhemes of the two clauses or sentences. Theme progression, on the other hand, consists of a link between a theme and the preceding rheme, while rheme regression involves a link between the rheme and the preceding theme. Sentences can be linked by more than one of these four patterns (Enkvist 1973:132).

For theme progression within and between textual units of various sizes, see Björklund 1988; fc.; Giora 1983. For a thematic analysis of procedural discourse, see Wikberg 1990. For a reformulation of Daneš' patterns of theme progression, see Dubois 1987.

The present discussion will operate with *given* and *new* information, rather than with *themes* and *rhemes*, or *topics* and *comments*. The bundle of these, often interrelated, familiar terms has been used in so many different senses that it is often wise to avoid them whenever possible. One solution would be to create yet another terminology. Another solution, opted for in the present study, is to follow the terminology used in the chosen theoretical framework. Hence, I shall primarily use the labels originating in Prince's (1981) taxonomy of given-new information, which forms the basis for the main analysis in this chapter. When relating my own findings to other works in the field I shall, however, employ terms used in these studies, to make comparisons easier and more transparent.[3]

In the course of this chapter, clause-initial adverbials of time and place will first be viewed from the perspective of thematics, starting from the positional concept of theme, as advocated by Halliday, and proceeding then to the interpretative arrangement in FSP[4], as developed by Firbas (see 7.2.). Both of these regard theme as the starting point of the clause or sentence. Their main differences concern the view of the thematic structure of a clause or sentence as a dichotomy vs. a scale, and the separation of given and new information from thematics vs. the integration of the two. Next, the main section of the chapter (7.3.) deals with Prince's taxonomy of given-new information. I have chosen Prince's model for the main analysis even though it has been designed in view of the information status of noun phrases (see Prince 1981). As will be seen below, the taxonomy may profitably be applied to adverbials. Further, this section focuses on the relationship between the information status of strategy-marking adverbials and the hierarchic structure of the text, as outlined in Chapter 6 above. Finally, before concluding the chapter, Enkvist's distinction between old and crucial information will be considered in 7.4. The notion of crucial information serves as a link between the present chapter and the discussion in 8.1., as will become evident in the summary section, in 7.5.

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[2] Cf. also the distribution of information as seen, on the one hand, from the text producer's, and on the other, from the text receiver's point of view. For discussion, see e.g. Clark and Clark 1977:95ff., 246; Firbas 1986:57; Sgall et al. 1986:177.

[3] Cf. also the discussion of notions such as *clausal/sentential topics* and the *discourse topic*, the *topic entity*, *topic continuity* and *thematic continuity*, in 6.1.1. (p. 85), 6.1.2.4. (p. 103ff.) and 6.1.2.6. (p. 112ff.), above. For *topicality*, see 7.5. below, pp. 314-315.

[4] *Functional Sentence Perspective*: "By *FSP* (sometimes also referred to as actual sentence analysis, actual sentence division, or contextual organization of the sentence) we understand the arrangement of sentence elements as it is viewed in the light of the actual situation, i.e. in fact in the light of the context, both verbal and situational. Viewed in this way, those sentence elements which convey something that is known, or may be inferred, from the verbal or from the situational context (or simply something that evidently constitutes the starting-point of the communication) are to be regarded as the communicative basis, as the *theme* of the sentence. On the other hand, those sentence elements which convey the new piece of information are to be regarded as the communicative nucleus, as the *rheme* of the sentence. Needless to say, the thematic elements are less important in the given situation, being communicatively less dynamic, i.e. carrying a smaller amount of communicative dynamism (to be further denoted as *CD*), than the rhematic elements. The latter, conveying the new piece of information, undoubtedly develop the communication very substantially. Those sentence elements which belong neither to the theme nor to the rheme form a kind of *transition*" (Firbas 1959:39). Cf. also Note 9 in 2.2. above, p. 14.

7.2. On the thematic status of clause-initial adverbials of time and place

The informative status of initially placed adverbials has been widely discussed in the literature. In this section I shall first consider adverbials placed in this slot in the light of the notions of *marked theme* (see Halliday 1967:213ff.; 1985:45-46, 50-54, et passim; cf. also CGEL:1375ff.; Fries 1983) and *topic*, in the sense of the result of the process of topicalization (see Enkvist 1978b:170-171; 1984:53; for topicalization, see 2.4. above, pp. 21-28). After that, I shall approach the adverbials under attention from the perspective of the *interpretative arrangement* in FSP, as developed by Firbas (see Firbas 1986; 1987). We shall see that the linear and the interpretative arrangement need not coincide.

7.2.1. Adverbial theme: A positional view

Clause-initial adverbials display an information system of their own, independent of the nominal system. A clause or a sentence may contain an adverbial theme and an adverbial rheme, and obviously, a nominal theme and a nominal rheme - where *theme* and *rheme* are used in a positional sense. The nominal system and the adverbial system work independently of each other, as is shown by the possibility of moving one of them without the other being positionally affected by this procedure (see Enkvist 1975:65). Also, in *theme progression* (Daneš 1974), or *theme dynamics* (Enkvist 1973), both the adverbial and the nominal theme can independently be picked up in the subsequent text (cf. cooccurring text strategies, see e.g. Enkvist 1987c; cf. also 6.1.4.1. above, pp. 118-120).

Enkvist calls the adverbial theme a *topic*, in line with the process of topicalization, to distinguish it from the nominal *theme*. Similarly, in addition to the *rheme*, a clause or sentence may have a *comment*, reflecting the process of commentization (see Enkvist 1984:53-55). In Halliday's framework, again, an initially placed adverbial of time or place usually constitutes the *marked ideational theme* of its clause or sentence. The number of ideational themes is, however, here restricted to one, so that the subject following an adverbial theme must belong to the rheme part of the sentence, though it otherwise constitutes the unmarked theme in English. Theme and rheme are thus viewed as a dichotomy, theme being the leftmost constituent of a clause or sentence. There may, however, be other themes representing the other two functions of language, i.e. one or several *textual* and *interpersonal themes*. These are stated to appear typically before the ideational theme, in precisely that order: cf. e.g. ***in that case*** (textual theme), ***frankly*** (interpersonal theme), ***he*** (ideational theme) *is totally wrong about it all*. For a discussion of *marked* and *unmarked themes*, and *multiple themes*, see e.g. Halliday 1967:213ff; 219ff.; 1985:45-46, 53-56, et passim; cf. also e.g. CGEL:651; 1375ff.; Fries 1983; Hakulinen 1989; Wikberg 1990.[5]

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[5] In terms of sentence grammar, the distinction between on the one hand, textual and interpersonal themes, which are typically placed initially in the sentence, and on the other hand, marked ideational themes, which need to be fronted for the purpose, tallies with the X-bar model presented in 2.4. above (pp. 22-28). Adverbials under a V-node leave a trace under the original node when they are topicalized under the TOP-node, whereas adverbials under an S-node do not (because they cannot be moved downwards to the TOP-node, or because their typical position is initial enough to make a topicalization unnecessary).

To complicate the picture somewhat, however, many text-strategically important adverbials of time in narratives are in this framework assigned the status of a textual theme (see Halliday 1985:50-51; cf. also the discussion in Halliday and Hasan 1976:239-244, 261-267). Hence, the subject of a narrative clause starting with a textual theme such as *then*, *meanwhile*, *presently*, *soon*, or *later on* constitutes the (unmarked) ideational theme. This solution seems more attractive for the present purposes, than the one in which the subject must automatically be assigned a rhematic status if a marked (adverbial) theme occurs in the sentence. The problem here is, however, the status of initially placed adverbials of place in procedural place descriptions, which will then have to be analysed in a totally different manner, as marked ideational themes. Similarly, many lexically weighty, and less conjunct-like, adverbials of time in my materials, such as *in the morning*, *on Tuesday*, or *one evening*, also basically constitute ideational themes. Yet, as exponents of a TSC, both kinds of adverbials function in the same way, and they are both placed in the thematic clause-initial slot for that very purpose.

Finally, clusters of initially placed adverbials which do not modify each other are analysed in various ways within systemic-functional grammar. In line with the above discussion, two successive clause-initial adverbials such as *then one day* in a narrative may be viewed as a combination of a textual theme and a marked ideational theme. On the other hand, the ideational theme may be exceptionally analysed as consisting of several adverbials: consider the heterosemantic cluster *the other day in Sheffield* discussed in Halliday 1967:219. However, Fries (1983), who strictly restricts the number of ideational themes to one, must accordingly always include the second strategy marker in a cluster of ideational adverbials in the rheme. In view of the text that the sentence is part of, this may sometimes result in an unfortunate analysis. Consider, in this light, the following sentence from a place description, in which only the first locative constitutes the theme as analysed by Fries (see Fries 1983:126): ***And on the right side,*** *straight ahead of you again, is a dining room which is not too big*. In line with the textual functions of these initial locatives, I interpret all the material to the left of the copula as the theme (cf. also the discussion of setting on p. 269, below).[6] For a discussion of clusters of text-strategically important adverbials, see 6.3.1. and 6.3.3. above, pp. 250-251 and 254-258.

In the light of the discussion in Chapter 6, above, it is necessary to reckon with a cooccurrence of an adverbial theme and a nominal theme, whatever one wishes to call them. Two independent themes may well realize two cooccurring, but different TSCs in a text, as we have seen in connection with the analysis of the sample narratives in 6.2.2. Also, as pointed out in 2.4. and 2.5. above (see pp. 26-30), the placement of the adverbial in the thematic position may be marked in terms of sentence grammar but such a placement may, at the same time, have a perfect textual fit, which makes it textually unmarked. The sentence grammar of a language provides the text producer with a number of possibilities to construct the sentence according to an optimal information structure. But the information structure of the sentence is motivated by the particular text strategy that the text producer has adopted in view of a communicative goal. Finally, the adverbial theme may consist of a cluster of homosemantic or heterosemantic adverbials. A clustering of adverbials will, however, make the initial slot crowded. The size of thematic material must, ultimately, be limited by the processing capacity of the text receiver: there must be a balance between thematic material, to be held in the working memory as the point of departure for the message, and rhematic material to be integrated into that starting point.

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[6] Here is some more context to the example, which Fries cites from Linde and Labov 1975:929-930. The segment printed in bold capitals and separated by '/' would in the present study also be given a thematic status.

If you keep walking in that same direction (Fries's theme), you're confronted by two rooms in front of you... large living room which is about twelve by twenty on the left side. *And on the right side* (Fries's theme), **/STRAIGHT AHEAD OF YOU AGAIN,/** is a dining room which is not too big. *And even further ahead of the dining room* (Fries's theme) is a kitchen which---

The ordering of the thematic cluster under attention may be accounted for in terms of the principles discussed in 6.3.3. above, pp. 254-258: the adverbial forming the local link is more activated at this point and it thus precedes the second locative, which manifests a more global strategy in the text.

7.2.2. *Adverbials of setting and adverbials of specification: A scalar view*

The distinction that Firbas makes between *adverbials of setting* and *adverbials of specification* in a non-initial position in the clause or sentence is interesting from the point of view of adverbials of time and place. Initial position, on the other hand, is said to rule out other than the setting interpretation (Firbas 1986:48-51, 57; cf., however, the discussion in Sgall et al. 1986:202). As we have seen, a clause or a sentence may start with a cluster of adverbials. These have been interpreted as belonging to one and the same clausal or sentential setting even when they do not modify each other (cf. also the discussion of thematic clusters of adverbials on pp. 267-268 above).[7]

According to Firbas, quite independently of the order of constituents in the actual clause or sentence, the *interpretative arrangement*, i.e. one that reflects a scale of gradual rise in *CD* (*communicative dynamism*, see Note 4 in 7.1. above, p. 264), is the following for basically context-independent elements (see Firbas 1986:47-50):

Set - App/Ex - Ph - B - Q - Sp - FSp(s)

Hence, adverbials of setting (*Set*), typically those of time and place, precede a verb of appearance or existence (*App/Ex*). Such a verb typically introduces a context-independent subject expressing the phenomenon that appears or exists on the scene (*Ph*). These together form the *existential scale*. Next, *B* stands for a 'quality bearer', and the verb *Q* expresses a quality of the subject. Even if this verb were one of App/Ex, it does not introduce a phenomenon appearing or existing on the scene as the phenomenon has already been introduced. The subject, or quality bearer, is thus context-dependent. Finally, *Sp* in the above scale refers to adverbials of specification. Contrary to the function of setting, this function assigns the highest amount of CD to the adverbial if no further specifications (*FSp*) are present in the sentence. The second part of the scale is called the *quality scale*. Both scales may occur alone or in combination. The quality scale may also begin with a setting. Context-dependence tends to draw the semantic dynamism of the element more to the level of a setting (Firbas 1986:47-51; see also Firbas 1987).[8] For the role of the linear arrangement, see Firbas 1986:46-47; 1987:30; cf. also the discussion of surface word order in Sgall et al. 1986:182ff. et passim.

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[7] Non-valency adverbials are called *adverbials of setting* in Enkvist 1976a. His distinction between *valency-bound adverbials* and those of *setting* corresponds to the categories of V^1 and V^2 adverbials, roughly (cf. 2.4. above, p. 21). Hence, it differs from the use of the term *setting* in Firbas 1986. For *setting* in story-grammars, see 6.2.1. (pp. 131-132), 6.2.2.1. (p. 137) and 6.2.2.2. (p. 153ff.), above. Cf. also the discussion in e.g. Chafe 1984; Haiman 1978; Thompson 1985.

Adverbials of time and place marking textual shifts typically express the setting of the contents of the clause or sentence which they start, or better, the setting of the contents of the textual unit at the beginning of which they appear. In narratives they often occur at the beginning of a quality scale, cf. (1). In procedural place descriptions, the existential scale prevails, cf. (2). Both types of texts also contain combinations of the two scales, cf. (3) and (4).[9]

(1) *First* she looked through the window. (BEARS:3)

(2) *At the junction of Balgreen Road* is Saughton Park--- (EDIN:2/8)

(3) *One evening in spring*, a man and a woman moved into a new house. (CATS:1/1)

(4) *South of Redhall, in Craiglockhart Park*, no. 1 (Dunderach) is a private house by Lorimer--- (EDIN:5/18)

The typically V^2 adverbial expressing the setting in narratives often carries a higher degree of CD than the subsequent NP, which is frequently context-dependent. There may thus be a mismatch between the linear arrangement and the interpretative arrangement, cf. (1) above. We have seen in Chapter 6 above that one of the reasons for this linear ordering is the text-strategic continuity chosen in this type of text. In procedural place descriptions, on the other hand, the linear order tends to conform to the interpretative arrangement. Here, the typically V^1 adverbial expressing the setting tends to carry a lower degree of CD than the other elements in the clause or sentence, even if it were seemingly as new as the Ph-element, cf. (5) below.

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[8] For *context-dependence* and *context-independence*, see Firbas 1986:54-56, where it is also pointed out that the context to be reckoned with in this connection is the textual and situational context. Cf. also the discussion of the somewhat different notions of *contextually bound* and *non-bound* elements, and the *systemic ordering* related to CD, in Sgall et al. 1986:178ff., 187ff., 194ff. Cf. also Daneš 1989:29.

[9] For references to the sample texts, see Appendix 1. In GFM, reference is made to the particular move, in BEARS to the episode. *CATS:1/1* stands for 'episode 1, paragraph 1', and *EDIN:2/8* refers to 'paragraph 2, move 8'.

(5) *In Craiglockhart Dell Road* is Craiglockhart House---
(EDIN:4/15)

In this light, it seems that the interpretative arrangement may work parallel with the chosen TSC, as shown by the procedural place descriptions investigated above. The move-initial locative - context-dependent or not - functions as a setting and typically carries a lower degree of CD than the subsequent linguistic elements. At the same time, its initial positioning agrees with the demands of the locative TSC. The narrative sample texts, however, reflect a different situation. The placement of temporal adverbials in narratives points to the possibility that the chosen TSC may weigh heavier than the scale of semantic functions when this contains context-dependent elements. In linear arrangement, even a context-independent temporal setting tends to precede the context-dependent subject, cf. (1) on p. 270 above. On the other hand, this placement is obviously closer to the interpretative ordering than a clause-final or sentence-final placement.

7.3. Prince's taxonomy of given - new information

After the discussion of the thematic status of clause-initial adverbials of time and place in the light of some influential theoretical frameworks, let us now turn to the main section of this chapter. We now change the focus from themes and topics to given and new information. The discussion of the scale of communicative dynamism in 7.2.2., above, showed that it may be wise to adopt a scalar view of information structure (see Firbas 1986; 1987). A dichotomy of old vs. new information does not seem to capture the information status of text-strategically important clause-initial adverbials of time and place. But if we are to deal with degrees of information, we need concrete instruments to define such degrees. Prince's (1981) taxonomy of given-new information seems to provide us with a convenient, reasonably precise and sufficiently delicate tool for the analysis of the information status of strategy-marking adverbials. At the same time, it reflects the scalar nature of information phenomena.

Prince's taxonomy will first be presented below (see 7.3.1.), and an attempt will then be made to apply its categories to adverbials signalling a TSC (see 7.3.2.). In 7.3.3. the information status of the different adverbials will be related to the hierarchic structure of the text, through a discussion of the source of familiarity of the various items. The main findings will be summarized in 7.3.2.3. and 7.3.3.5., pp. 292-294 and 304-307.

7.3.1. The taxonomy and examples

Prince outlines a taxonomy of given and new information based on "assumed familiarity", i.e. shared knowledge, or the concept of information as something that the text producer assumes the text receiver is able to think likely or predict or infer.[10] Prince's taxonomy is basically tripartite. In addition to given information, which she calls *evoked*, linguistic items may, secondly, convey information that the text receiver is assumed to be able to infer, and thirdly, they may contain new information. Roughly speaking, the first category then represents what has traditionally been characterized as *given* in linguistic literature, while the first and the second together cover the field of *given* information as treated within psycholinguistics (cf. Brown and Yule 1983:153ff., 187; for a narrower treatment of given information, see e.g. Chafe 1976; Halliday 1967, and for a broader one, e.g. Clark and Clark 1977:92). In her discussion of assumed familiarity, Prince is operating with the referents, or interpretations, of linguistic items in a discourse model, rather than with the clause constituents themselves (Prince 1981:232-237).

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[10] For a discussion of *shared knowledge* and other concepts relating to *givenness* (such as *predictability, recoverability, saliency*), see Prince 1981:225-232. Cf. also e.g. Brown and Yule 1983:154ff. and esp. 176-182; Chafe 1976; Dahl 1976; Halliday 1967; Vande Kopple 1986:78.

What makes the taxonomy especially appropriate for the present purpose are the finer distictions within the three main components. Evoked information, first of all, may be either *textually evoked* or *situationally evoked* (Prince 1981:236-237). In the present adverbial data there are instances mainly of the former type of evoked elements, though some situationally evoked *entities*, as Prince calls her discourse model objects,[11] may be found in some of the fairy tales. Brown and Yule make a further distinction between *current evoked* entities and *displaced* ones. A current evoked entity refers to the most recently introduced entity before the current new entity, while a displaced one refers to an entity that has been introduced as new prior to that (Brown and Yule 1983:173, 183).

Inferrables are discourse entities that the text receiver may infer from other evoked or inferrable entities. They may also have the form of *containing inferrables*, i.e. "what is inferenced off of", as Prince (1981:236-237) puts it, "is properly contained within the inferrable" entity itself.

New information may, says Prince, basically be of two kinds: *brand-new* or *unused*. Brand-new information may, in turn, be *anchored* or *unanchored*. Anchored brand-new entities contain an element that links them to some other discourse entity but they are all the same not inferrable. Unused information is new, but it is assumed to be present in what Prince calls the text receiver's model, so that it need not be created as does information contained in brand-new entities. All the text receiver needs to do is to pick it out from her/his model and to place it into the discourse model s/he is constructing according to the text producer's instructions (Prince 1981:235-237; cf. Note 11). This might be rephrased using the notions of *text world* and *universe of discourse*, considered in 4.2. above, p. 53 (see Enkvist 1989a). Hence, unused information is not assumed to be present in the text world that the text receiver is building up around the text. Instead, it is assumed (by the text producer) to be present in the text receiver's universe of discourse.

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[11] For Prince, a *text* is intended to be an aid from the text producer to the text receiver for constructing an appropriate *discourse model*. Such a model consists of *entities*, *attributes*, and *links between entities* (Prince 1981:235). Cf. also 4.2. above, p. 53, for Enkvist's view of text comprehension as a process of the text receiver building around the text a *text world* with its internal states of affairs and placing the text within a *universe of discourse* (see Enkvist 1989a).

To illustrate the taxonomy, Prince gives the following examples of NPs with different values of assumed familiarity. They are supposed to appear in discourse-initial sentences (Prince 1981:233).[12]

(6) Pardon, would *you* have a change of a quarter?
(7) *A guy I work with* says *he* knows your sister.
(8) I got on *a bus* yesterday and *the driver* was drunk.
(9) Hey, *one of these eggs* is broken!
(10) *Noam Chomsky* went to Penn.

Thus, *you* in (6) represents a situationally evoked entity, while *he* in (7) stands for a textually evoked one. The latter would also correspond to the Brown and Yule category of current evoked entity. An instance of a displaced textually evoked entity might be the last occurrence of *the line* in (11), below. The prior references to the 'line' in that example would again count as currently evoked (the example is an adaptation of a discourse used as an illustration in Brown and Yule 1983). *The driver* in (8), above, is inferrable from the fact that buses have drivers. *One of these eggs* is a containing inferrable, as it may be inferred from the situationally evoked element *these eggs* which is contained within the NP itself, cf. (9). *Noam Chomsky*, in (10), refers to an unused entity. Though not inferrable, the entity is assumed to be available for the text receiver. It contains new information but it is, at the same time, expected to be identifiable and hence, more familiar to the hearer or reader than a brand-new entity. Finally, *a bus* in (8) and *a guy I work with* in (7) refer to brand-new entities, the former representing an unanchored one and the latter an anchored one (i.e. anchored to the situationally evoked *I*).

(11) Draw a line and above it write ON. Underneath the line draw a black triangle and a square. Draw a diameter across the square. At the right hand side of *the line* draw a circle.

In sum, one of the advantages of Prince's taxonomy is the attention it draws to the categories of information that do not fit into a dichotomy of old and new information. Thus, in addition to the useful notion of inferrables between these two main types of information, the group of containing inferrables may function as a link between this intermediate category and the class of evoked entities. Also, unused entities lie between information that may be inferred from somewhere and new information proper. The latter is represented in the taxonomy by brand-new entities, which may also be anchored to some other discourse entity to facilitate the text receiver's task of constructing a text world. Here we thus have yet another intermediary category. Such intermediate categories obviously reflect the fuzziness there is, perforce, in any classification of linguistic items.

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[12] Prince (1981:235) points out that all discourse entities are NPs in the actual text but not all NPs in a text stand for discourse entities.

7.3.2. An application to clause-initial adverbials of time and place

What is interesting from the present point of view is the possibility of applying Prince's taxonomy to clause-initial adverbials of time and place. Prince illustrates the different types of assumed familiarity using NPs but adverbials too may be viewed from a similar perspective, as will be seen presently.[13] In what follows, I shall first consider the status of clause-initial adverbials of time and place as entities or links in Prince's discourse model. After that, I shall present my analysis of the information status of clause-initial adverbials of time and place signalling a TSC.

7.3.2.1. Entities and links

Prince points out that discourse entities are always represented by NPs in the text. Though she does not analyse adverbials in the texts that she presents as an illustration of the taxonomy, she, however, considers the NP-heads of adverbials of the type *through the kitchen window* (cf.

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[13] In the light of the discussion of cooccurring adverbial and nominal themes in 7.2.1. above, the use of identical tools for the analysis of the information status of adverbials and NPs has the advantage of providing a basis for a comparison of the two, not pursued in the present study.

Prince 1981:235ff.; cf. Notes 11 and 12 on pp. 273 and 274 above). Adverbials such as *in the morning* or *opposite the front door* in my materials may thus be analysed according to the status of their NP-head but what about instances such as *nearby* or *just then*?

The other two components of Prince's discourse model are *attributes* and *links* between entities (Prince 1981:235; cf. Note 11 on p. 273 above). Clearly, text-strategically important adverbials represent entities rather than attributes but should they be characterized as links between entities? Prince's discussion concerns the information status of entities, rather than links. But in view of the present adverbial data, links and entities might perhaps be likened to Halliday's textual and ideational themes, considered in 7.2.1. above. We have seen that Halliday regards some of the initial adverbials of time as constituting a textual theme, in the same way as other conjunctive devices. Other adverbials of time, together with those of place, are, however, included in the ideational component of language (cf. Halliday 1985:45, 50-51; cf. also Halliday and Hasan 1976:239-244, 261-267).

An extreme view would be to interpret all text-strategically important adverbials of time and place as links between textual units of various kinds: we have seen that they bring cohesion into the text by virtue of the chain that they constitute. Markers of a local strategy may often be considered as links between the sentence they introduce and the preceding one, cf. *then* in (12), or *just outside their door* in (13), linking the sentence in which they occur to the previous sentence.

(12) The cats sat still and stared at her. *Then* they all CLOSED their big, round, yellow-green eyes. (CATS:21/25)

(13) One evening in spring, a man and a woman moved **into a new house**. *Just outside their door* there was **a garden**. *It* was a pretty garden, with flowers and grass and even a tree. (CATS:1/1)

On the other hand, *it* in the third sentence of (13) should, in that case, also be included into the link category, as it links its sentence to the previous sentence-final NP. Prince (1981:235) in fact points out that not all NPs in a text represent discourse entities. Yet the pronoun *it* is an obvious instance of an item representing a current textually evoked entity, in the same way as *he* in Prince's example, cited as (7) on p. 274 above. The question of whether particular linguistic items in a text represent discourse entities or links between such entities may, however, cause some hesitation both in the instance of NPs and adverbials.

Prince (1981:236) also speaks of "linking" in connection with the anchor that ties an anchored brand-new entity to another discourse entity, though it is understood that such anchors basically represent entities themselves. As the function of strategy-marking adverbials always extends the limits of the clause or sentence they appear in, they might in this sense, too, all be included in the category of links. Some, however, link more clearly than others, or better, they link in a different manner. In other words, there is a difference between a *one evening*, such as the one in (14), which functions as a link on a global or macro-level, with often no particular entity or link to refer to, and a *then* 'after that', 'next', cf. e.g. (15), typically linking two successive actions or events.

(14) Every day the cats played in the pretty garden. They would not go away.

The man and the woman were the ones who had to stay away. They could only look at the weeds growing stronger and the grass growing longer. They could only look at the sun and their tree. They were most unhappy.

One evening the woman found that there was a bit of milk left over after supper. --- (CATS:12-14/24-26)

(15) **First** she looked through the window. *Then* she peeped through the keyhole. (BEARS:3)

And there is a difference between, on the one hand, an *in the same road* referring back to an item in the preceding sentence, or an *over the main door* that is inferrable from an item that has appeared a sentence or two earlier in the text, and on the other hand, an *upstairs* that may be inferred from the fact that the text is dealing with a certain type of building, cf. (16) - (18).

(16) **In Redhall Bank Road**, off the south side of Lanark Road, is an eccentric block of quarriers' cottages by Sir James Gowans, c. 1850, built, unusually for this area, of a type of Kentish Rag stone. Nearby *in the same road* is Millbank, an 18th-century house with pediment, roundel and stone stair. (EDIN:9/28-29)

(17) On the south side of Gorgie Road, in Stenhouse Mill Lane, is **STENHOUSE MANSION**, a scheduled monument owned by the National Trust for Scotland and--- **The house** is an oblong block with 2 projecting wings;--- *Over the main door* is a lintel with--- (EDIN:3/9-10)

(18) *Upstairs* in the PLOUGH ROOM is a great plough 12 m long,--- (GFM:7)

Thus, different types of links should be termed differently: we might speak of *attached* and *free* links, or make a difference between *conjunctive* and *disjunctive* strategy markers, cf. (15), (16), and (17) vs. (14) and (18).

In the light of the discussion above, we may conclude that some clause-initial adverbials signalling a TSC fall more naturally into the category of entities, while others again resemble links more closely. For the sake of simplicity, I shall reserve the term *link* for items such as *conjuncts* or *connecters* (see e.g. GCE:661ff.; CGEL:631ff.). Adverbials which have a function in the clause, i.e. which do not modify adjectives, adverbs, or nouns and thus count as attributes, can then be included in the category of the linguistic items that may represent an entity. Borderline cases such as *then* in the sense of 'after that' - as opposed, on the one hand, to *then* 'at that time', and on the other, to *then* 'in that case', or 'furthermore' - may thus be regarded as representations of links or entities according to the alternative that best suits the purpose of the analysis. Below, I shall attempt to apply the taxonomy uniformly to all strategy-marking adverbials, which will thus be regarded as representations of discourse entities and analysed accordingly. This will, however, cause some hesitation in the classification.[14]

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[14] Cf. also Prince's sensible statement at the beginning of a text to be analysed: "TO BE TAKEN WITH LARGE GRAIN OF SALT" (Prince 1981:248). The reader is invited to observe that an even larger grain is needed in the case of the present analysis.

7.3.2.2. Examples of adverbial entities

In what follows, an example or two will be given of each of the categories as represented by adverbials to clarify the basis of the analysis. I shall discuss my interpretation in some detail, to direct the reader's attention to the fuzzy borderline areas between the different categories. Appendix 3 contains a full analysis of the information status of the adverbials of time and place signalling a TSC in the four sample texts.

7.3.2.2.1. Textually evoked entities

Adverbials such as *when cats feel good* or *back on the main road*, in (19) and (20), have been interpreted as representations of textually evoked entities. The former refers to a current evoked entity, the latter again to a displaced one. It has been introduced already in the title of the text and last referred to two paragraphs earlier.

(19) And so summer went slowly by.

The cats began to be not quite so skinny, scraggly, scrawny, because the woman fed them every day. They began to feel good.

And *when cats feel good* - as you've probably noticed - they begin to wash themselves. They washed and washed, and they washed away their smudge of city soot. --- (CATS:25/42-44)

(20) *Back on the main road* is the entrance to CRAIGLOCKHART DELL and the start of a pleasant woodland walk which follows the Water of Leith through Colington Dell, continues out of the city to the village of Balerno, and leads eventually into the Pentland Hills. (EDIN:6/19)

Clause-initial adverbials of time and place that signal textual shifts in the two types of texts under investigation were seldom mere textually evoked entities. The adverbial in (19) is, in fact, not a strategy adverbial in the sense that it would take part in a text-strategic chain, though it functions as a local causal link between the paragraph it starts and the previous one (cf. the discussion in 6.2.2.2. above, pp. 173-174). Secondly, most of the strategy-marking adverbials of the type (20), above, are made of more than just the textually given element. In addition to *back* in (20), we may find prepositions (e.g. *beyond Balerno*, where the place name has been mentioned earlier in the text), adjectives (e.g. the attribute *next* in *in the next village of Balerno*), another NP such as *the south end* in *at the south end of Dalry Road*, and so forth. These obviously make the classification less straightforward.

As the idea here is to regard the strategy-marking adverbial in question as a whole, it has been necessary to take all its linguistic elements into consideration. Of such elements, the status of conjunctions in the present analysis will be discussed in 7.3.2.2.3. below (pp. 286-288). There it will be pointed out that clauses have been analysed as wholes, thus excluding the possibility of their being merely interpreted as the sum total of their constituents. In brief, then, all the various elements of the linguistic item under investigation have been paid some attention, but in assigning the label, the function of the item has been considered as a whole.

As a result, *beyond Balerno* (EDIN:15/45) has been analysed as a containing inferrable. Emphasis has thus been laid on the preposition, while the NP has been viewed as a representation of a textually evoked anchor (cf. also e.g. *opposite the path entrance on Lanark Road*, in EDIN:7/22, which has been analysed similarly though *opposite* is the only non-evoked element contained in it). An argument for such an analysis could be the fact that the non-evoked piece of information conveyed by these adverbials is the crucial one from the text-strategic point of view. It is this part that gives the reader instructions of the location of the next stop, and the textually evoked entity only functions as an anchor in locating the new stop in relation to some previously mentioned or visited place.

The third example above, *at the south end of Dalry Road* (EDIN:2/6), has also been given the label of containing inferrable, with *Dalry Road* as a displaced textually evoked anchor. Here, in addition to the preposition, it is *the south end* that really contains inferrable information ('roads have ends, and roads may have a south end').

Conversely, *in the next village of Balerno* (EDIN:14/44) has been interpreted as a displaced textually evoked entity, as it has been previously mentioned in the text. Even the attribute, whose status might otherwise be subject to discussion, is here textually evoked on the grounds of the two villages always having been mentioned in the iconic order (cf. the list of places to be visited during the tour, as well as move 11, where further route instructions are given).

An example of a text-strategically important temporal adverbial representing a textually evoked entity might be the following.

(21) Goldilocks looked at the teeny, weeny bed near the window. It was just the right height, and had a beautiful patchwork quilt just the right thickness. As soon as Goldilocks climbed in she fell fast asleep.

Just then the bears came home, very hungry after their walk. (BEARS:9)

Just then in (21) might be paraphrased as 'at the point in time when G. had just fallen fast asleep in the little bed', and hence considered a representation of a current textually evoked entity. The presence of *just* in the strategy marker might be explained by the difficulty of *then* denoting 'at that time' to appear clause-initially, which is the typical position of the narrative *then* 'after that' (cf. Schiffrin 1990:254, 268n; cf. also Labov 1977:376). The information status of the link-like *then* denoting 'next' or 'after that', already touched upon in 7.3.2.1. above, is problematic. This typical strategy-marking adverbial in narratives has been analysed as an inferrable. Consider (22) and (23), with the adverbial *then* 'next' or 'after that'. Example (24), again, contains a *then* 'at that time' representing a textually evoked entity. This non-strategy adverbial appears as a pro-form for *in the quiet in between*.[15]

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[15] While these two different *then*'s, denoting 'at that time' and 'after that', respectively, may be characterized as representing textually evoked and inferrable entities, the conjunct *then* (see CGEL:635-636) must obviously be characterized as a link. Cf. also the discussion of ***external*** and ***internal*** conjunction in Halliday and Hasan 1976:240-244. For a discussion of the two *then*'s denoting 'after that' and 'at that time', see Schiffrin 1990.

(22) On Friday, the mackerel looked so firm and fresh that the woman completely forgot that they were having supper with friends that evening. She bought some mackerel and brought it home.

Then, of course, she couldn't throw it away - because she knew how cats feel about FISH. (CATS:18-19/32-33)

(23) Goldilocks felt tired, so she went into the sitting room to rest. First she tried the great big chair. ---

Then she sat down on the medium-sized chair. ---
(BEARS:5-6)

(24) And she could not sleep in the quiet in between. Because *then* she could hear the mewing of the cats in the cold quiet of the snow. (CATS:29/50)

7.3.2.2.2. Situationally evoked entities

References to situationally evoked entities are typically made in spoken discourse. A few problematic examples, however, also occur in the type of materials examined here. In stories, which in the present data are written for children, there may be a need at some point to draw the text receiver closer into the story-world, instead of just telling her/him what happened. Situationally evoked entities may then appear for instance in the form of a *you* directed to the text receiver, cf. (25), or a temporal element referring to 'now' in a story in which reference is otherwise made to 'then'. This happens in CATS (see 6.2.2.2., esp. pp. 176-177, for a discussion of the empathetic and tension-creating functions of such elements in the text). Direct questions, instructions and exclamations addressed to a text-receiving 'you' appear from time to time, at crucial points of the story, and at the end, the time gradually changes from 'then' to the proximal 'now', so that the story-final temporal adverbials have the form *this time*, see (26). The temporal reference of deictic adverbials in narrative is subject to the narrative context.

(25) The next morning, as soon as they woke up, they ran to the window to admire their garden.

*But what do **you** think they saw?* CATS!

They saw so many cats, they almost couldn't see the flowers, or the grass, or the tree. (CATS:2/3-5)

(26) In the morning she ran to the window.

What did she see?

Yes! Cats! *But look! What else?*

A row of tiny houses!

They went into the garden - the man and the woman. *This time* he did not shout and stamp. *This time* she did not scold and swish her apron.

This time they said, "--- (CATS:30-31/51-56)

Some borderline cases of situationally evoked entities can also be found in tourist guides. They are then typically of the form *here* and refer to the spot which the text receiver is supposed to be at when reading the part of text in question. *Here* in (27) below could, however, also be interpreted as a representation of a textually evoked entity, as the spot on which the reader finds her/himself has in fact been described at the end of the previous paragraph.

(27) At Juniper Green --- the road crosses the old city boundary and enters the village of CURRIE, now part of City of Edinburgh District.

To the north of the main road *here* is Baberton House, a traditional Scots mansion of 1622 built for Sir James Murray --- (EDIN:13-14/40-42)

Situationally evoked entities lead us to the domain of *deixis*, with all its complexities. As the adverbials that might potentially be included into this category are infrequent in the sample texts, deixis will not be further discussed in this study (for deixis, see e.g. Fillmore 1975; Lyons 1977:636ff.; Levinson 1983:54ff.). In passing, however, two aspects may here be touched upon. First, in terms of Fillmore's distinction between *coding time* and *receiving time*, or else, *encoding* and *decoding time*, the adverbials discussed above are not deictic (Fillmore 1975:39-40, et passim; cf. also Levinson 1983:62). The time adverbials in (26) refer to a 'now' in the narrative time. The instances of situationally evoked entities in the present adverbial data might thus be interpreted as manifestations of what Lyons calls *empathetic deixis*, i.e. deictic elements expressing the text producer's personal involvement, or her/his identification with the receiver's perspective (Lyons 1977:677; cf. also Björklund 1990; see the discussion of deictic time adverbials in narrative in 6.2.2.2. above, pp. 176-177). The locative adverbials that have been interpreted as situationally evoked may be viewed as deictic primarily from the perspective of the receiving time. In terms of the discourse function of the text, the writer of a tourist guide can assume that the text receiver is in the appropriate location when reading the instruction. Identifying her/himself with the receiver, the text producer may thus project the deictic centre on the text receiver and her/his assumed location at the receiving time.

A second aspect of deixis that is of interest here is the notion of *textual deixis* (Lyons 1977:667-668) or *discourse deixis* (Fillmore 1975:70ff.; cf. also Levinson 1983:62, 85-89). Textual, or discourse, deixis includes metatext. Further, adverbials signalling a TSC such as the narrative *then* (in the sense of 'next', 'after that') might be interpreted as an instance of such a phenomenon. Textual, or discourse, deixis seems, however, to be too broad a concept to fit into the present classification. Issues covered by it reach from anaphora (cf. textually evoked entities) to topicality in the sense of a TSC (cf. Chapter 6, above, and 7.5. below). Exponents of a TSC may represent different informational entities, ranging from textually and situationally evoked to inferrable, unused and even brand-new entities. In the present chapter, deixis is therefore taken into consideration in the traditional sense of situationally evoked entities. As indicated above, even the status of adverbials such as *this time* and *now* in CATS or *here* and *a short distance further on* in EDIN will remain open to question.

7.3.2.2.3. Inferrables

Many items seemed to fit into the inferrable category. Several of them have already appeared in the examples presented so far. Let us consider a few more.

To give examples of text-strategically important locative adverbials that represent inferrable entities, *on the north side* and *by the gate* in (28) refer to noncontaining ones, and *on the south side of Gorgie Road* in (29) to a containing entity. In the latter case, the inferrable entity *on the south side* is anchored by *Gorgie Road*, which stands for a displaced textually evoked entity (cf. also *at the south end of Dalry Road*, already discussed in 7.3.2.2.1. above, p. 280).

(28) *On the north side* in Distillery Lane is the CALEDONIAN DISTILLERY (1855), one of two in the city, producing bulk grain whisky by the continuous patent-still process for blending. --- *By the gate* is a traditional farmhouse of 1740 recently restored as an architect's office. (EDIN:1/2-3)

(29) *At the south end of Dalry Road* the route divides and Gorgie Road continues south-west as the A71 Kilmarnock Road. ---
On the south side of Gorgie Road, in Stenhouse Mill Lane, is STENHOUSE MANSION --- (EDIN:2-3/6,9)

Temporal adverbials in narratives that mark a new strategically important point of time, such as the ones in (30), can often be interpreted as inferrables in the sense of our knowing, for instance, that *the next morning* follows *one evening*, or that *Tuesday* follows *Monday*. *One morning* in (31) is inferrable by a set-member inference from the previous background-marking text-strategically important adverbial *every morning* (cf. Prince 1981:236). The text proceeds here from the general to the particular. By contrast, *one evening* in (30), or in (13) in 7.3.2.1. on p. 276 above, have been interpreted as new entities (see 7.3.2.2.4. and 7.3.2.2.5. below).

(30) *One evening* the woman found that there was a bit of milk left over after supper.

"I may as well give it to those skinny, scraggly, scrawny cats," she decided. She poured it into a pan and put it in the garden. That was **on Monday**.

On Tuesday, she ordered a whole extra quart of milk from the milkman. By mistake, of course.

Do you know what she did with it?

On Wednesday, she bought too much chopped meat at the butcher's shop - another mistake?

On Thursday,--- (CATS:14-17/26-31)

(31) *Every morning* the three bears went for a walk while their porridge cooled.

One morning while the bears were out walking, a little girl called Goldilocks came to their house. (BEARS:2-3)

This last example brings us to the question of how temporal and locative clauses should be treated within the framework of the taxonomy. The text-strategically important adverbial clause *while the bears were out walking* in (31) has been considered a representation of a current textually evoked entity (see also example (19) on p. 279 above; cf. Prince's (1981:247-252) analysis of a written text). In 7.3.2.2.1., it was pointed out that units consisting of other units should not be regarded as the sum total of their various parts. Still, it was stated that these various elements constituting the whole should be given some attention each.[16]

Problems arise when the clause contains entities of several types, and we have to decide on the importance of the various elements that constitute the clause. Clauses of the following kind have been treated as representing containing inferrables, though they could of course be analysed differently as well. Attention has here been given first to the verb, which in (32) is inferrable from *morning* in the preceding strategy-marking adverbial, and then to the other elements of the clause, such as the current textually evoked entity represented by *they* in this example. Hence, *they* functions as an anchor, making the unit into a representation of a containing inferrable. If, however, what is inferenced off of must be present in the unit itself, in order for an entity to qualify as a containing one, the clause in (32) must be given the status of a noncontaining inferrable instead (cf. Prince 1981:236). In (33), the verb may be argued to be inferrable from the previous sentence (i.e. if you wake up with three bears standing around your bed you are likely to see them), while the NPs in it again represent current textually evoked entities.

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[16] The various elements of a clause, of course, differ in their information status. Attention is, however, here given to the clause as a whole, as an element of the sentence that it is part of. The clause as an entity thus appears on a higher level in the text than the entities represented by the elements contained in it, which in turn might also be analysed using the same tools. The clause may then be said to have been *rank-shifted*, not only in terms of its functioning as an adverbial in the sentence but also in terms of its having an information status of its own, which is part of the information structure of the sentence (for the terms *rank* and *rank shift*, see Halliday 1961:251ff.).

(32) The next morning, *as soon as they woke up*, they ran to the window to admire their garden. (CATS:2/3)

(33) The little, small, wee voice was so shrill that Goldilocks woke up at once. *When she saw the three bears*, she tumbled out of bed in fright. (BEARS:13)

Further, clauses such as the one in (34) have been interpreted as inferrables on the basis of the information earlier in the text that Goldilocks felt tired and was therefore looking for somewhere comfortable to take a nap. Once she found a bed of the right kind, she obviously climbed in. Again, the clause also contains entities of other status, cf. the displaced textually evoked *Goldilocks*.[17]

(34) Goldilocks looked at the teeny, weeny bed near the window. It was just the right height, and had a beautiful patchwork quilt just the right thickness. *As soon as Goldilocks climbed in* she fell fast asleep. (BEARS:9)

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[17] Beyond the scope of the present study is a discussion of the full NP in the subject position of this clause, typical of displaced entities. Current ones, predictably, tend to be realized through pronouns or zero anaphora (for a discussion, see Brown and Yule 1983:185). Cf. also 6.2.2.1. and 6.2.2.2. above, for a discussion of the function that this type of variation has in marking textual shifts.

Another problem to be treated here is the status of the temporal conjunction in clauses such as the ones that have been discussed above. Here we are reminded of the discussion in 7.3.2.2.1. (cf. p. 280, above) of the status of prepositions in containing inferrables such as *beyond Balerno*. This adverbial was said to represent an inferrable entity mainly on the basis of what was realized as a preposition in it. The textually evoked NP contained in the adverbial was taken to function as an anchor. Likewise, it is often the conjunction that conveys the temporal meaning that makes the adverbial clause part of the text-strategic chain. Therefore, in many cases it is difficult to regard clauses as consisting entirely of given information proper. Where this has been done (cf. (31) above, p. 286) the clause as a whole has had the given sense of 'at the time of what was described above'.

7.3.2.2.4. Unused entities

The third category in the Prince taxonomy consisted of unused and brand-new entities. It is worth emphasizing that the boundary between inferrables and unused entities is a fuzzy one. Do we infer a particular entity from another entity that may but need not be explicit in the text? Or do we rather evoke an unused entity which is already present in our background knowledge or encyclopedic knowledge, and which needs to be taken into use at a certain point in the discourse?[18] An entity is thus unused if it is available to the text receiver, even if it were not in her/his consciousness at the moment when the text producer realizes it in the text form. Prince (1981:251) observes that it seems to be easier to draw a line between these two categories in oral communication than in a written text of the kind she is analysing in her article. Considering the matter from the reader's perspective, it becomes evident that what is unused information for one reader may well be inferrable for another, and brand-new for a third.

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[18] For different types of knowledge needed in text processing, see Viehweger 1987. For *frames, scripts, schemata* and related concepts used to model global knowledge patterns that are assumed to be activated in text production and text comprehension, see e.g. de Beaugrande 1980:163ff.; de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:90-91; Minsky 1975; Rumelhart 1975; Schank and Abelson 1977; cf. also Brown and Yule 1983:236ff.; see also 5.2.1. above, p. 66. For *mental models*, see Johnson-Laird 1983. For a discussion of the process of inferencing, see e.g. Enkvist 1985b; 1989a; Rickheit et al. 1985.

The difficulty certainly applies to strategy-marking adverbials, which occur in a position that would favour their being representations of inferrables (i.e. more given-like elements) rather than their being interpreted as unused entities (i.e. new elements). On the other hand, they often contain semantically new information, i.e. information that has not yet been introduced into the particular discourse. It is obvious that a taxonomy of different types of information has to be viewed as a scale.

A special case are the elements that are inferrable from some culture-specific pattern, such as a stereotyped text strategy connected with a prototypical text type, with no other aspect of givenness present. For instance, *first* in (23) on p. 282 above or *once upon a time* in (35) below might be interpreted as inferrables on the basis of what the text receiver is assumed to know about strategies in prototype narratives (cf. Note 18 on p. 288 above; cf. also 5.2.1. above, p. 66). As we have seen in Chapter 6, the temporal text strategy may be realized in such a way that shifts in it are marked with sentence-initial adverbials of time. The question is, however, if such instances represent an inferrable entity, or rather, an unused entity that needs to be available in the text receiver's background knowledge in order to be benefited from in the construction of the particular (narrative) text world (cf. 4.2. above, p. 53). For the sake of expediency, I have chosen to label such items representations of unused entities. As statistical counts are not involved, such fuzzy labels will not distort the argument.

(35) *Once upon a time* three bears lived in a house in the woods. (BEARS:1)

Other examples of unused entities might be the apparently new place names appearing sentence- and move-initially in travel-guide texts, e.g.

(36) *In Craiglockhart Dell Road* is Craiglockhart House, an early 19th-century residence with some Tudor detail. (EDIN:4/15)

The place referred to by the initial adverbial in (36) must be assumed by the text producer to exist in the text receiver's knowledge. Otherwise the locative would not appear initially, as a starting point of the sentence. This assumption of the part of the text producer is of course connected with another assumption, viz. that of the text receiver possessing and actually using a map at the moment of text processing, or of being in a place where the reference is available situationally. Alternatively, a locative such as the one in (36) might also be considered inferrable on the grounds that the text receiver may, for instance, infer that any new place names appearing in the tourist guide may be printed on the map s/he is using and that they may, accordingly, be looked up there.

Yet another alternative would be to classify the type of items discussed here as brand-new entities. Brand-new entities differ from unused entities in that they must be created by the text receiver for the particular text world and universe of discourse: unlike unused entities, they cannot be assumed to be present in her/his background knowledge (cf. 7.3.1. above, p. 273). The locative in (36), or the temporal adverbial in (35) above, would then be instances of unanchored brand-new entities.[19] An anchored brand-new entity, on the other hand, might in such an interpretation have the form of the sentence-initial locative *opposite Kingsknowe golf course* in (37), the anchor being the succeeding displaced textually evoked adverbial *on Lanark Road*. In the present study, entities such as the ones represented by the text-strategically important adverbials in (35)-(37), or *first* in (23) on p. 282, have been assigned the label of unused entities.

(37) *Opposite Kingsknowe golf course on Lanark Road* is Hailes Avenue, containing Hailes House--- (EDIN:10/30)

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[19] *Craiglockhart House* in (36) might also be argued to represent an unused - or an inferrable - entity rather than a brand-new one. The way it is introduced into the text, however, supports the hypothesis of the text producer treating it as a brand-new entity instead. The initial locative, as an unused entity, would then seem to indicate a stop, a fixed point on the route, from where the sight, as a brand-new entity, may conveniently be approached. Even if both the text-strategic locative and the NP indicating the sight in instances such as (36) were given the same interpretation, i.e. that they represent e.g. unused information, there is still a difference in the amount of CD carried by them. The setting function of the initial adverbial reduces its "newness" vis-à-vis the rhematic NP. Cf. the discussion in 7.2. above.

Thus, unlike evoked or inferrable entities, unused information is not yet assumed to be present in the specific text world that the text receiver is, ideally, constructing with the help of the text producer's instructions. But it is assumed (by the text producer) to be available in the text receiver's universe of discourse, within which the text can be placed. And this is where it differs from brand-new entities which need to be created for the particular text world and universe of discourse.

7.3.2.2.5. Brand-new entities

Brand-new entities are typically found at the beginning of texts. Consider the beginning of CATS again.

(38) *One evening in spring*, a man and a woman moved into a new house. (CATS:1/1)

The story-initial *one evening* may comfortably be analysed as a representation of a brand-new entity. One could, of course, also discuss it in the sense of an unused entity available in the text receiver's background knowledge in the same way as *once upon a time* is available as a marker of a particular type of text. The adverbial is, however, here viewed as a representation of a brand-new entity as it differs from *once upon a time* in being less stereotyped. Hence, it contains information that cannot be present in the text receiver's background knowledge. It must therefore be created for the purpose of building up the appropriate text world around the text.

It is possible that *one evening* should be regarded as a representation of an anchored brand-new entity. The function of *in spring* is to anchor it in some kind of temporal framework, to limit the number of alternatives in the interpretation of the referent of *one evening*. *In spring* appears here as a representation of an unused entity. As the anchor has to be properly contained in the linguistic item in order for the item to qualify as an anchored brand-new entity, there is again room for discussion in the instance we are considering here (cf. also the discussion in 7.3.2.2.3., on p. 287, of the requirement of what is inferenced off of needing to be contained in the inferrable entity proper, in the case of containing inferrables; cf. Prince 1981:236). Instances such as *one evening in spring* have been regarded as representations of anchored brand-new entities in accordance with the policy adopted above for the analysis of containing inferrables that are represented in text by phrases or clauses.

The rest of the sentence in (38) refers to unanchored brand-new entities. As these items may not be inferred from the title of the fairy tale, "The cats who stayed for dinner", and as they certainly cannot be present in the text receiver's background knowledge, they qualify as representations of brand-new unanchored entities that need to be created for this particular text world and universe of discourse.

One day, in (39) below, might similarly be interpreted as an anchored brand-new entity, with *then* as an inferrable anchor. *One evening*, in (30) on p. 286 above, would then contain an unanchored brand-new entity. As an alternative to the interpretation adopted here, these could be considered unused along the lines of the argument in 7.3.2.2.4., above.

(39) And so summer went slowly by. ---
Then one day, winter came. All of a sudden, it snowed and the wind was wild. (CATS:25-26/42,45)

7.3.2.3. Interim summary

The interpretation of the information status of the various clause-initial adverbials in the four sample texts discussed in detail in Chapter 6 above and given in full in Appendix 1, may be found in Appendix 3. It should be borne in mind that, as is so often the case in studies of text and discourse, such an interpretation is not the only one possible. Secondly, the aim of the study may also influence the interpretation, for instance, in deciding on the delicacy of the analysis. In the present study, the main interest has been in the information status of certain items only. This has affected the analysis in several ways. For example, phrases and clauses have been categorized as wholes.[20] Further, the information status of non-initial adverbials has not been analysed. Finally, the analysis reported above not only had the aim of discussing the information status of the items under investigation as such,[21] but also, and more importantly, that of tracing the role that these text-strategic elements play in the information dynamics of the entire text. Therefore, the status of certain elements in the taxonomy may here be left open. A merging of categories would obviously lead to a less indeterminate classification. The above discussion of the various categories has, however, been included on purpose, as a reminder of the non-discreteness in linguistic categorization.

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[20] As pointed out in Note 16, on p. 286 above, within a clause the different constituents display an information structure, and the clause, once rank-shifted, participates in the information structure of the sentence. Cf. also sentences in textual units of various sizes (see Björklund 1988; fc.; Giora 1983).

At this point, a short interim summary of the representation of the different categories of the taxonomy in the two types of text under attention is in order. The following section will then be concerned with the source of familiarity of the text-strategically important adverbials in the four sample texts.

Allowing for the fuzziness inherent in the classification, the category of inferrables has by far the largest group of exponents among the text-strategically important adverbials of time and place in the present adverbial data, including the texts given in App. 1. In comparison, there are relatively few strategy-marking adverbials, or other items functioning in a text-strategic chain, that could be included in the other two main categories: evoked and new. Further, the elements that have been assigned the label of evoked entities do not constitute a much larger category than do those characterized as new entities.

Strategy-marking adverbials represent a larger number of evoked items and fewer new entities in fairy tales than travel-guide texts, as the latter often contain unused place names that function as text-strategic locatives. Another type of narrative, again, such as a biography in an encyclopaedia, representing a mismatch between the expository type of discourse and the narrative type of text, would contain a large number of brand-new or unused dates that function as text-strategically important adverbials in the temporal chain, cf. e.g. Text (23) in 6.1.5.2. above, pp. 125-126. Also, a different type of place description, for instance the ones cited as (58)-(60) in 6.2.3. above, pp. 191-192, is likely to have many locatives representing inferrables or evoked entities in the text-strategic chain, instead of unused place names.

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[21] Despite the relativity of the information status of an item, no attempt has here been made to include an analysis of, on the one hand, the status of the other elements in the clause or sentence that the strategy-marking adverbial appears in, or on the other hand, the status of the preceding linguistic items.

Next, looking at Prince's subcategories, it can be seen that in the fairy tales and travel-guide texts under investigation new entities are mostly of the unused type. Textually evoked entities, as may be expected in written texts, are the typical group of the evoked category. And inferrables are often of the noncontaining type but containing inferrables are also usual in the present adverbial data.

In brief, then, the typical clause-initial adverbial of time or place signalling a textual shift in narratives and procedural place descriptions conveys information which may be characterized as inferrable. The large majority of such elements thus basically convey given information - in the broad, psycholinguistic sense of evoked and inferrable entities (see 7.3.1. above, p. 272; cf. Brown and Yule 1983:187). Further, many strategy-marking adverbials representing unused entities in these data appear in tourist guides and are treated as definite on the grounds that the text producer assumes them to be available in the text receiver's background knowledge, and thus identifiable (for *definiteness*, see e.g. Brown and Yule 1983:179ff.; Chafe 1976:38-43). Expectedly, the brand-new category is minimal in the present adverbial data.

To conclude, the above discussion has shown that Prince's taxonomy of given-new information may profitably be applied to adverbials. In particular, an analysis of the information status of text-strategically important adverbials of time and place benefits from the handy categories of inferrable and unused information. The above application is one way of viewing the information status of such adverbials but the following result should also hold good when the categories are interpreted differently: text-strategically important, initially placed adverbials of time and place in narratives and procedural place descriptions typically represent entities that are situated in the middle of the scale, rather than at either of its extreme ends.

7.3.3. Source of familiarity: Some data

In 7.3.1. and 7.3.2. above, Prince's taxonomy of given-new information was presented, and an application of its categories to clause-initial adverbials of time and place was attempted, in order to define the information status of these shift-marking elements. It was noted that the way the taxonomy was applied resulted in inferrables being by far the largest group in the present adverbial data. In contrast, the next category, evoked entities, did not differ much in size from that of the category of new elements (the latter consisting, practically, of unused entities).

In what follows, I shall consider the information status of text-strategically important adverbials of time and place in the light of their source of familiarity, trying to relate such findings to the hierarchic structure of text-strategic chains, as worked out in Chapter 6 above. The hierarchy of text structure may in part be indicated with the help of the adverbial markers that constitute text-strategically important chains in narratives and procedural place descriptions. Strategy-marking adverbials signal boundaries between different textual units, and they may, therefore, also contribute to the marking of textual shifts as minor or major. We have seen above that narratives can be structured into sections, episodes, and moves - or whatever labels one wishes to give to their various hierarchic parts. We have also seen that locatives signalling global and local moves in a procedural place description easily manifest the taxonomy of the topic entity. In view of such findings, we may hypothesize that the different levels in the hierarchic organization of these texts will also be reflected in the information status and source of familiarity of the strategy-marking adverbials.

Proceeding again in the same order of presentation, the following section will build on the comprehensive analysis presented in Chapter 6, and therefore, acquaintance with the texts examined there will be assumed. The texts are given in Appendix 1. A reader who wishes to avoid the detailedness of the analysis is referred to 7.3.3.5., on pp. 304-307, for a summary of the main findings.

7.3.3.1. BEARS

Let us again start from the first sample fairy tale, the *Three Bears*, which was analysed in 6.2.2.1. above. Figure 8 on p. 146 in that section lists the temporal adverbials present in this story. Their information status is indicated in Appendix 3, which also includes a record of the hierarchic levels outlined in Fig. 7 in 6.2.2.1. above, p. 138.

The story begins with a text-type marker which contains unused information (cf. the discussion in 7.3.2.2.4. and 7.3.2.2.5. above, pp. 289-291). The activation of the narrative schema through the use of *once upon a time* provides a basis for regarding several other text-strategically important adverbials as representations of unused entities in this text. Thus, the occurrence of *first* or *suddenly* in the main body of the text and the appearance of an end marker such as *never again* may be interpreted as signals for matching the appropriate global knowledge pattern against this particular fairy tale (for global knowledge patterns, see 5.2.1. above, p. 66).

Suddenly may thus be interpreted as containing unused information, while *at once* appearing in comparable surroundings must be classed as a representation of brand-new information. It occurs at the end of the highlighted part of a section-initial comparative sentence (see the discussion in 6.2.2.1. above, pp. 141, 144-145). Section three, as will be remembered, is marked with an anticipated shift. The adverbial signalling this shift contains textually evoked information and refers back to the last sentence of the preceding paragraph.[22] It connects the starting point of the narrative of the bears' return temporally to the final event of the preceding Goldilocks-oriented passage. Next, the cluster at the beginning of section two may be interpreted as two successive containing inferrables. The second adverbial may, however, also be regarded as a representation of a textually evoked entity (cf. the discussion in 7.3.2.2.3 above, p. 286). *One morning* is connected with the preceding strategy-marking adverbial through set-membership. This sub-section initial 'habitual' *every morning* has here been viewed as an inferrable. The description in episode 1 gives grounds for assuming that the bears, who permanently lived in their house, led a life of habit.

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[22] So far, the verb *refer* has here been used in the sense of pointing to the 'referent' of the linguistic item under investigation. Thus, a particular adverbial has been said to refer to, say, a textually evoked entity. It has thus been considered a representation, or an interpretation, of such an entity. Conversely, the entity has been said to have been realized through that particular linguistic item.

In what follows, the verb *refer* will be used in another, broader, sense. Thus, it may cover the anaphoric references of textually evoked entities, or the exophoric ones of situationally evoked entities, as well as the sources of familiarity for inferrable or unused items. For a discussion of *anaphora* and of reference in anaphora, see Lyons 1977:659-660; for *anaphora* and *exophora*, see Enkvist 1975:32-33; Halliday and Hasan 1976:14-18.

Two series of *first - then* appear in the text. The status of the second member of such series invites further discussion (cf. 7.3.2.2.1. above, p. 281; cf. also the implicit 'then' discussed e.g. in 6.1.2.1. above, p. 94). *Then* has here been assigned the label of an inferrable, as it may be inferred from the preceding strategy-marking adverbial *first* and the narrative schema.[23] Two more adverbials remain to be considered. They are the episode-internal temporal clauses that have been classified as containing inferrables. They are anchored to the immediately preceding move in the same episode.

Clause-initial adverbials of time signalling a textual shift in this text thus usually represent inferrable entities. There are also a few unused and evoked entities. The source of givenness for inferrable and evoked entities may be the preceding strategy-marking adverbial in the same chain or the preceding move or episode as a whole. The source of familiarity for unused entities, on the other hand, is normally the activated narrative schema.

7.3.3.2. CATS

CATS was analysed in 6.2.2.2. above and the text is given in full in Appendix 1. The hierarchy of textual units is clearly reflected in the information status of the different strategy markers (see Appendix 3). While inferrables, including containing inferrables, are by far the most common type of entity represented by clause-initial adverbials in this text, they are, at the same time, typically contained in an adverbial of time that appears initially in an episode or a sub-section. Section-initial adverbials tend to contain unused or brand-new entities. Episode-internal moves, finally, are often marked with adverbials that are inferrable from the preceding move or that are textually or situationally evoked. The distance of inference is shorter in these local links than in the episode-initial inferrables which may usually be inferred from the preceding strategy-marking adverbial. Thus, in episode-initial adverbials, the inference passes at least one episode boundary. Episode-internal inferrables, by definition, refer back to the preceding move within the same episode. Let us now take a closer look at these different boundaries.

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[23] If a notion such as *textual deixis* or *discourse deixis* is taken into account, the narrative *then* (in the sense of 'next', 'after that') might be interpreted as an instance of such a phenomenon (see the discussion in 7.3.2.2.2. above, p. 284).

Episode-internal moves are marked with adverbials containing textually and situationally evoked entities in the last part of the story. Some of these do not participate in the temporal TSC, but form a local link between their sentence and the preceding one (cf. episodes 25, 27 and 29). The contrast of *this time* with the earlier story-time span was dealt with in 6.2.2.2. above, pp. 176-177. Other episode-internal adverbials are part of a local temporal chain. In these instances, the second adverbial (*then*) seems to be inferrable from the previous action or event, i.e. the previous move as a whole (cf. episodes 11, 21, and 24). Here, the preceding strategy-marking adverbial is typically an implicit 'first' (cf. the inference of *then* from *first* in BEARS). The two locative markers in the text are both inferrable from the end of the first action sentence in episode 1.

Episode-initial adverbials, next, mostly represent inferrables or containing inferrables that may be inferred from or anchored to the preceding main-chain adverbial. Here, we find adverbials such as *the next morning*, *then*, or *on Wednesday* which may be classified as given (in the broad sense of the term) on the basis of the activated narrative schema. The same applies to sub-section boundaries, where the typical adverbial signal is an inferrable (cf. *all day*, *every day*, and *on Sunday*).

Section boundaries differ from lower-level boundaries as concerns the information status of the adverbial strategy marker. These contain unused or brand-new entities (cf. the discussion in 7.3.2.2.5 above, pp. 291-292). *One evening in spring* at the beginning of the story may, for instance, be interpreted as a combination of a brand-new and an unused entity, or a brand-new entity *one evening* with the unused anchor *in spring*. *One evening*, starting section 3, contains an unanchored brand-new entity. It is further specified with the episode-final unused *on Monday*. Section four is introduced with the help of a combination of a narrative inferrable *then* (cf. the discussion in 7.3.2.2.5. above, p. 292) and a brand-new *one day*. The former may be considered an anchor for the second (cf. the markers of section 1). The section boundary is here further strengthened with the help of the brand-new *all of a sudden* at the outset of the subsequent sentence. The only section boundary that is signalled with an adverbial which represents a containing inferrable is section two. In 6.2.2.2. above (pp. 154-155), it was pointed out that the first two sections together might be given an alternative interpretation of one major unit of text. This is supported by the information status of this marker. Interestingly, however, this boundary was unanimously indicated in the paragraphing test (see 6.2.4.2. above, p. 232, and Appendix 2).

7.3.3.3. GFM

The text-strategic chain of locatives steering the Guernsey Folk Museum text was analysed in 6.2.3.1. above, where two figures were presented that are of interest to us again in this chapter. Figure 15, on p. 196, shows the way in which the text is segmented, and Figure 16, on p. 199, displays the chain of text-strategic locatives steering the text, further divided into major, mid- and minor moves.

A closer look at these boundaries shows, first, that minor moves (4, 8, 12, 13, 14, and 16) are marked with an initial locative referring back to, or inferrable from, the previous hyperonymic move (e.g. *on the day bed* inferrable from the *Victorian Bedroom* in the previous move).[24] They may therefore even occur in an indefinite form, as e.g. the hyponyms *in one corner*, *along one side*, and *another wall*, all part of *the Tool Room*. Secondly, in the mid-moves (2, 3, 5, 10, and 15), these initial locative expressions are given (in the broad sense of the term) by virtue of an earlier, often hyponymic, adverbial of place, which in turn refers to the topic entity. The source of familiarity may also be found elsewhere in a preceding hyponymic move sentence. Next, major moves 1, 7, 9, and 11 start with two adverbials of which at least one is typically continuous directly with the topic entity, or else, with a preceding major move after which several other moves have taken place (cf. also the locative NP in move 19). Major moves may also start with a different kind of locative expression such as, in move 6, the adverbial of 'source' which is embedded in and by valency tied to an *-ing*-construction. This adverbial is continuous with the topic entity. Finally, the sections (at moves 1 and 18) start with a direct reference to the topic entity by the locative placed first in the clause, as opposed to reference through a previous move. Sub-sections (moves 9, and 17) start with adverbials referring to a previous text-strategic locative which in turn refers directly to the topic entity. As was pointed out in 6.2.3.1. above, p. 196, these shifts may also be regarded as major moves.

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[24] For *hyperonyms* and *hyponyms*, see Enkvist 1975:43.

Thus the strategy qualifies as taxonomic. The museum is first divided into parts, which are in turn divided into floors, rooms, parts of rooms, furnishings, etc. We now see that this strategy is also reflected in the information dynamics of the text: while the minor moves are indicated by sentence-initial locatives referring to an item close to them in the preceding text, such as a preceding hyperonymic locative, the major moves are initiated with items referring directly to the topic entity, or to an often hyponymic item earlier in the text.

Further, the minor moves, and many mid-moves, seem to fairly often begin with items which represent containing or noncontaining inferrables. In containing inferrables the anchor usually refers to the previous strategy-marking adverbial, cf. e.g. *opposite the front door* in the mid-move 2, or the locative NP *the other end of the room* in the minor move 8. Typically, both of these contain a current textually evoked entity as the anchor. The noncontaining inferrables that are realized as markers of minor or mid-moves in this text contain given information with reference to an item not too far back in the text. For instance, *in one corner* in the minor move 12 is inferrable from the fact rooms have corners, cf. the preceding text-strategically important adverbial *in the Tool Room*.

By contrast, locatives indicating major moves are often inferrable directly from the topic entity, as *from the entrance* in move 1. There may then be no particular item present in the text that they may be said to be continuous with. Rather, they may be inferred from the notion of the 'Guernsey Folk Museum', introduced in the frame text prior to this subtext, and which might be considered the title of this text. Other instances may, again, be found in which such major moves are anchored to the notion of the museum, or even textually evoked from it, e.g. *the main manor* in move 18, which has been analysed as a textually evoked entity containing an attribute (cf. Note 11 in 7.3.1. above, p. 273). After the major move 6, continuous with the topic entity, two other inferrable major moves are anchored to it by the item *the (court)yard* that represents a textually evoked entity.

Thus, most of the strategy markers in this text represent inferrables - containing or non-containing ones - but there is variation in their source of familiarity. This variation seems to coincide with the taxonomic content of the text and the hierarchic text segmentation based on the extent to which the text receiver is instructed to move.

7.3.3.4. EDIN

In 6.2.3.2., above, it was pointed out that the content of the EDIN text provides a less hierarchical basis for text segmentation than that of the GFM text. Two levels of moves were separated in Figures 17 and 18 (see pp. 204 and 207). It was noted, however, that intermediate levels could also be discerned in a more delicate analysis. The author's paragraphing was given some attention as it was assumed to contribute to text structuring in this longer and less hierarchic text. The information status of strategy markers reflects these aspects to a considerable extent.

The typical strategy markers in this text represent containing inferrables or unused entities. The next group consists of inferrable and textually evoked items. The paragraph-internal minor moves are mainly initiated by locatives that represent inferrables or containing inferrables. These may refer to a constituent at the end of the preceding major or minor move sentence or to a progressed theme (cf. Note 1 in 7.1. above, p. 263) in the case of a local topic continuity chain (cf. moves 3, 5, 10, 20, 21, 23, 32-38, the first adverbial in move 29, and the nominal theme, or "new topic", in move 17; for this notion, cf. 6.2.3.2. above, pp. 205-206). They may also refer to an NP or adverbial at the beginning of the preceding major move sentence (cf. the adverbial marker in move 14, and the nominal themes, or "new topics", in 25 and 26). The source of familiarity may thus be found within a preceding hyperonymic or hyponymic move (cf. e.g. moves 3 and 23).

Interestingly, then, the item off which the paragraph-internal minor moves are inferenced of is present in the immediately preceding textual context, or if they are containing inferrables the anchor refers to an entity represented by such a recent linguistic item. Textually evoked entities also seem to be of the current, rather than displaced, type (cf. the second adverbial at the beginning of move 29, the adverbial marker in move 17, and move 43). Moves 27 and 41 are inferrable from the main road, contained in the marker in 41. Move 27 follows other moves that take place on the main Lanark Road, which greatly facilitates the inferencing. Move 41, on the other hand, is embedded in a displaced textually evoked strategy marker (major move 40). After the digression in moves 31-39, spanning two paragraphs, an explicit anchor indicating the main road is, therefore, needed in the adverbial that signals the minor move.

Consider also the minor moves 14 and 17, both of which start with a new topic that is less given than the place adverbial in the initial medial position. The adverbial is inferrable from or refers back to a constituent in the preceding major move sentence (cf. also the discussion in 6.2.3.2. above, pp. 211-213). Finally, the minor move 20 starts with a locative NP that represents a containing inferrable, with *the path* as the anchor. It is followed by two hypotactic adverbials that contain a situationally evoked and an unused entity, respectively.

Let us next consider the major moves from the perspective of their appearing paragraph-initially or paragraph-internally, as this seems to have some influence on their information status. Paragraph-internal major moves may be marked with one or two clause-initial adverbials of place, which contain inferrable, unused, or evoked information. Paragraph-initial markers mostly appear in pairs, and represent containing inferrables or unused entities, as well as evoked information in a few instances. Clusters of strategy markers occurring in this text were dealt with in 6.2.3.2. and 6.3.3., above. It will be of interest to examine them, too, in this connection.

The first difference thus seems to be the occurrence of containing inferrables in paragraph-initial markers and non-containing ones within paragraphs (cf., on the one hand, e.g. *at the south end of Dalry Road* in move 6, and on the other hand, e.g. *on the north side* in move 2 or *at the junction of Balgreen Road* in move 8). Secondly, paragraph-initial adverbials tend to appear in clusters more often than paragraph-internal ones (cf. also major moves in GFM). Further, paragraph-internal clusters tend to start with information that is more given than that contained in the second item of the pair (cf. moves 2, 4, and 7). In move 29 the two adverbials may be considered neutral in this sense, as the first contains a situationally evoked and the second a current textually evoked entity. But *nearby* may also be interpreted as inferrable. Paragraph-initial clusters, next, display several types of adverbial pairs. In some of them, the first adverbial refers to the main route, or to a previous stop, and the second to a specification of the new location (cf. moves 9 and 18). As in paragraph-internal clusters, the first adverbial is here, too, given, while the second contains new information. This new information is then typically of the unused type, as the text receiver is supposed to be able to refer to a map and/or the appropriate situational context for help. In other paragraph-initial pairs, both adverbials are given. As we have seen in 6.3.3. above, the local link then tends to precede the global one. In other words, the adverbials that are inferrable from or refer to a recently mentioned item are more given at that point in the text than the adverbials participating in a global chain of locative markers (cf. moves 22, 31, and 45). In move 42, the global strategy marker refers to the route instruction at the end of the preceding move and paragraph. Therefore, it is more activated at this point than the situationally evoked *here*, which provides a specification for the new stop.

The global chain in this text refers to the main road which the text receiver is supposed to follow. A new location on that route is thus to a high degree inferrable but a containing inferrable is often needed at the beginning of a new paragraph. The order in clusters typically proceeds from a more given local strategy marker to a less given global strategy marker, or else, from a more given global or local strategy marker to an unused entity. As the main route may gradually be considered a well-established notion in the reader's mind, it may also be preceded by less given entities, cf. moves 28 and 30 (cf. also the discussion in 6.2.3.2. above, p. 214, of other motivations for the order of strategy markers in these moves).

Unused items often cooccur with a more given item. The same applies to adverbials containing situationally evoked entities. The situationally evoked spatial deixis contained in items such as *here*, *nearby*, or *a short distance further on/beyond* is typically combined with another non-deictic adverbial. Unused and situationally evoked entities appear both paragraph-initially and paragraph-internally. A single adverbial representing an unused or a situationally evoked entity may be found at the beginning of moves 15, 21, and 24. In 15 and 24 the main route is so well-established that no reference to it is needed. In the minor move 21 the distance to the previous minor move and to the source of familiarity is so small that there is no risk of ambiguity.

7.3.3.5. Interim summary

Let me summarize the findings of the present section in terms of two tendencies. To some extent, the source of familiarity seems to vary in such a way as to reflect the different levels in the hierarchic organization of the text. There are also differences in the types of entities realized through adverbials that signal textual shifts on different levels. The source of familiarity seems to be less far away in the case of strategy markers appearing at minor textual boundaries than at major ones. Also, major textual units may be signalled with the help of elements that represent less given entities than those appearing at the beginning of minor ones. The main chain of adverbials usually consists of a series of references to an activated narrative schema or to the topic entity. Adverbials representing similar entities - for instance, inferrables - may have a different source of familiarity according as they mark a major or a minor shift in the text.

In line with Givón's (1984; 1985) ideas concerning iconicity, the hierarchy of text structure seems to some extent to be reflected, not only in the size of strategy markers as described in Chapter 6 above, but also in the information status of the material used to signal textual units on different levels. Thus, more and informationally newer material may be used to indicate the starting point for a major textual unit, while the more local shifts seem to be associated with elements of lesser size that are also more given. Also, the source of familiarity of adverbials indicating minor shifts may be closer to them, as compared to major shifts.

This may be illustrated with a series of examples from the sample texts. In (40a) and (40b) major shifts are indicated with the help of markers of larger size which contain newer information that the smaller markers of minor shifts in (41a) and (41b). Similarly, in (42) and (43) the first locatives illustrate markers of major shifts, while the second highlighted locatives in these examples signal minor shifts. These are of lesser size and more given than the first locatives.[25]

(40) a. *One evening* (**BN**) the woman found that there was a bit of milk left over after supper. (CATS:14/26)

b. *Then one day* (**I+BN**), winter came. *All of a sudden* (**BN**), it snowed and the wind was wild. The man and woman stayed indoors, warm and snug. (CATS:26/45)

(41) a. On Friday, the mackerel in the market looked so firm and fresh than the woman completely forgot that they were having supper with friends that evening. She bought some mackerel and brought it home.

Then (**I**), of course, she couldn't throw it away - because she knew how cats feel about FISH. (CATS:18-19/32-33)

b. The cats sat still and stared at her. *Then* (**I**) they all CLOSED their big, round, yellow-green eyes. (CATS:21/35)

(42) *Off Dalry Road in Orwell Place* (**Ic+U**) is Dalry House, a mid 17th-century mansion restored and somewhat altered in 1969 as an old people's day centre. The house is an oblong 3-storey block with 2 semi-hexagonal towers capped with ogee roofs; the one at the south-west corner is a 19th-century addition. *Inside* (**I**) is a notable 17th-century ceiling. The house was built for the Chieslie family of Dalry. (EDIN:1/4-5)

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[25] *Key*: **BN** = Brand-new; **U** = Unused; **I** = Inferrable; **Ic** = Containing Inferrable; **E** = Textually Evoked; **Es** = Situationally Evoked. For alternative categorizations, see Appendix 3.

(43) *In Redhall Bank Road, off the south side of Lanark Road* (**U+Ic**), is an eccentric block of quarriers' cottages by Sir James Gowans, c. 1850, built unusually for this area, of a type of Kentish Rag stone. *Nearby in the same road* (**Es+E**) is Millbank, an 18th-century house with pediment, roundel and stone stair. (EDIN:9/28-29)

In the following example adverbials signalling major and minor shifts both contain inferrable information but they have a different source of familiarity according as they mark a major or a minor shift in the text. The first cluster of locative markers in (44) indicates a major move, containing information that may be inferred from the topic entity. The second locative, again, signals a minor move. While it, too, contains inferrable information, the source of familiarity for this information is less remote - minor markers typically form a link to an item close to them in the immediately preceding text. Consider, in this light, also examples (41a) and (41b) above, in which the inference of the first instance of *then* must pass a (sub-)episode boundary, while the second is part of a micro-level action continuity within an episode.

(44) *Upstairs, in the Tool Room* (**I+I**) is a display of different island stones used in building and as stone weights and corn grinders. *In one corner* (**I**) are roof decorations including chimney pots, tiles and corn finial. (GFM:11-12)

The second tendency that may be discerned in the discussion of the present section concerns adverbials containing new information. Text-strategically important adverbials representing new entities in the two types of text under investigation show some differences. Narratives such as fairy tales may contain adverbials that represent unused or even brand-new entities to signal the beginning of a new high-level section in the text (cf. CATS). These may be indefinite (e.g. *one evening*), and appear alone or in combination with other strategy markers. Subsequently, they become the setting of the sentence - and of the entire textual unit. As such, they are thematic and background-providing, in terms of their position and their function as a point of departure for what follows (cf. e.g.

Firbas 1986; 1987; Halliday 1967; 1985; see 7.2.1. and 7.2.2., above). At the outset of the sentence, however, they contain new information, and form the informationally foregrounded and salient notion at that point in text processing (for *salience*, see Osgood 1980:185ff.). The use of adverbials that refer to new information proper - in the sense of brand-new entities - thus functions as a crucial marker for the most high-level segmentation in the narrative.[26]

In travel-guide texts, again, strategy markers conveying new information are basically of the unused kind. As pointed out above, they are often presented as definite. They need not be created by the text receiver, who is supposed to have access to a map and/or to be in the appropriate situational context. They also usually appear in combination with another strategy-marking adverbial, typically one which is inferrable from the topic entity or textually or situationally evoked. Even here the instructiveness of the text wins: items conveying new (unused) information usually appear second, after a more given element (cf. e.g. the clusters of inferrable or evoked, and unused entities in the locatives in EDIN:1/2, 1/4, and 2/7: i.e. *on the north side in Distillery Lane, off Dalry Road in Orwell Place*, and *a short distance beyond, in Wheatfield Road*). If the reference is assumed to be very clear, an unused element may occur alone. This happens, for instance, in EDIN when the implicit topic entity of the main road is assumed to be unambiguously present in the text world (cf. e.g. *in Craiglockhart Dell Road* or *Craiglockhart Drive South* in EDIN:4/15-16). Finally, if the kind of procedural place descriptions that we are dealing with here include indefinite strategy markers, these are - differently from narratives - likely to appear at the beginning of minor moves, close to their source of familiarity (cf. the inferrables in GFM:12-14, and the situationally evoked or inferrable element in EDIN:6/21).

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[26] Cf. also Text (58) in 6.2.3. above, pp. 191-192. The brand-new/unused temporal adverbial *once* is here used to signal the major textual shift. This crucial new adverbial is succeeded by the displaced textually evoked locative, *on the rock island*, which participates in the main chain of markers of the spatial TSC that is dominant in the text.

7.4. The two patterns of 'old-information-first' and 'crucial-information-first'

Enkvist makes a distinction between two different patterns of information in clauses and sentences, i.e. the principles of *old-information-first* and *crucial-information-first* (henceforth *OIF* and *CIF* respectively; see e.g. Enkvist 1987b; 1989a). Hence, sentences and clauses may conform to the unmarked order of *old-information-first*, which we, as text receivers, take for granted if the clause or sentence is not marked otherwise. Themes, as Prague-school students of FSP would say, usually go before rhemes. On the other hand, the strategy may also be that of putting *crucial information first*, or offering it exclusively, which is a process-oriented way of explaining many of the instances that used to be described as elliptic in the traditional product-oriented approach. This latter pattern of *crucial-information-only* (*CIO* for short) is thus a variant of the principle of CIF. The use of these two major strategies tends to vary according to communication situation and presumably also according to text type. Thus, we may expect the crucial-information-first strategy to occur mainly in impromptu speech, in situations where there may not be time for presenting more than the specific pieces of information considered most important by the text producer, or else, when the crucial information is more salient and therefore precedes everything else (for *salience*, see 8.1.; cf. Osgood 1980:185ff.). In impromptu-speech situations a lot of information is also recoverable from the situation, and need not be verbalized. Interestingly, patterns of information dynamics are often respected even when syntactic rules are violated, as often happens in impromptu speech. Enkvist's classic example of the pattern CIF is a cocktail-party utterance of the type *A Manhattan I should like very much*, where old information actually follows the crucial one, adding politeness in the sense of a 'please' to the otherwise rather abrupt request (see Enkvist 1987b:30).[27]

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[27] A similar example is discussed by Osgood in connection with "unnaturally" ordered sentences from a salience point of view (Osgood 1980:200, 213; Osgood 1984:173, 175-176; for salience, cf. 8.1.).

For CIF, cf. also Jespersen's (1949:54) *principle of actuality*, i.e. "what is at the moment uppermost in the speaker's mind tends to be first expressed". I owe the parallel to Marita Gustafsson (p.c.), who points out that this word-order principle has not been discussed because it upsets sentence grammar.

If we interpret *old* information in the broad sense of *given* as discussed in 7.3.1. above (p. 272) - i.e. consisting of both evoked and inferrable information - we may conclude that sentences which start with adverbials of time and place indicating a TSC usually conform to the pattern of OIF. The adverbial is, then, interpreted as expressing a scene or a setting and therefore presented as if it were old information even though the semantic content of the item may occur for the first time in the discourse. Strategy-marking adverbials often contain linguistic indications of old information, for instance, in the form of the definite article, cf. (45) and (46) below, which illustrate inferrables. Evoked entities, as noted above, are infrequent among adverbial exponents of a temporal or locative TSC.

(45) *On the day bed* is laid out a baby's layette and other items include cradle, hipbath, commode and early feeding bottle. (GFM:4)

(46) *The next morning* they woke up smiling. (CATS:10/19)

Other adverbials, again, more apparently convey new information, as we have seen in 7.3.2.2.4. and 7.3.2.2.5. above. Consider examples (47) and (48) below. These strategy markers contain unused and brand-new information, respectively.

(47) *In Craiglockhart Dell Road* is Craiglockhart House, an early 19th-century residence with some Tudor detail. (EDIN:4/15)

(48) *One evening* the woman found that there was a bit of milk left over after supper. (CATS:14/26)

Positionally, however, they too appear in a slot which may be expected in the types of text under attention here. The placement of apparently new adverbials of time or place initially in the clause, sentence, and textual unit that they introduce is motivated by the dominant text-strategic continuity. The slot may thus be expected but not the filler. In this light, consider especially (47) above, in which both the adverbial and the NP contain an apparently new place name but the former appears in a thematic and the latter in a rhematic position (cf. also the discussion in 7.2.

and 7.3.2.2.4. above, pp. 265-271 and 289-290). Strategy-marking adverbials would, however, often be read or spoken with an intonation pattern that indicates new information (see e.g. Allerton and Cruttenden 1978; Brown and Yule 1983:153ff.; Halliday 1967; 1985:274ff.). What the above aspects reflect is the multifunctional role of text-strategically important adverbials of time and place in narratives and procedural place descriptions. This is where the Prince taxonomy comes in handy: strategy-marking adverbials may often be characterized as inferrable or unused, intermediate between given and new information proper.

We may also interpret the adverbials under attention as exponents of crucial information. We have seen that the marking of textual shifts is basically done with the help of temporal and locative expressions placed initially in their clauses or sentences in the two types of text under investigation. In this sense, then, text-strategically important adverbials contain crucial information - often more crucial, and less given, than the nominal theme in the same clause, cf. e.g. (46) and (48) above. In this interpretation, the two principles of OIF and CIF typically coincide in the sentences that begin with strategy-marking adverbials in the types of texts discussed here.

Let me elaborate on the two patterns of information. Above, I have taken the view that the two principles of OIF and CIF may be compatible. This implies, in fact, that there are three different alternatives. One, a clause or sentence may conform to the OIF principle and the crucial information then coincides with new information, cf. (49).

(49) Just then the bears came home, very hungry after their walk. (BEARS:9)

Two, a clause or sentence may conform to the CIF/CIO principle which, for the specific textual or discoursal motivations, wins over the OIF principle (cf. Enkvist's example of CIF on p. 308 above). The third alternative is the one in which at least part of the crucial information in the sentence coincides with old information, leading to a merging of the two principles. This, as we have seen above, often takes place in the clauses or sentences that mark a textual shift (cf. e.g. (45) on p. 309 above). But the particular adverbial conveys old, crucial, or new information only in relation to its textual and discoursal neighbourhood, and its information status is modified as the text proceeds.

Further, the order of two successive clause-initial adverbials also reflects these two informational principles. The two adverbials in such clusters follow either the ordering of OIF, in the sense that the item with a more given or a more recent source of familiarity precedes the other item. Or, they follow the pattern of CIF, and the more crucial indication comes first. As we have seen, references to the topic entity or to the narrative schema usually come before other adverbials. Such markers of a global strategy, in turn, tend to follow adverbials that form a local link. In other words, the adverbials that are inferrable from or refer to a recently mentioned item are more given at that point in the text than the adverbials participating in a global chain of strategy markers and they may thus be more activated than adverbials signalling the global strategy. Such an ordering may, at the same time, reflect both the OIF pattern and the CIF pattern, as the two patterns may work parallel. Other clusters, again, such as the ones at the beginning of moves 28 and 30 in EDIN, start with the most important indication. Here, the crucial new location comes before the reference to the given topic entity, to signal a new digression from the main route, which may be considered a well-established notion in the reader's mind (cf. also Note 26 on p. 307 above).

In sum, viewing text-strategically important adverbials from the perspective of the two information principles discussed here tells us, first of all, that they often convey information that may be interpreted as old, in the broad sense of the term. At the same time, they may conform to the CIF strategy in the sense that they contain information which may be characterized as crucial in terms of its being salient, and thus informationally foregrounded. The two patterns of information presumably reflect different phenomena. The OIF strategy concerns information proper, while the CIF strategy is basically a matter of salience (see 8.1.). Information proper must be definable in terms of the relevant textual and situational context. It is in this sense that elements conveying old information, or carrying a low degree of CD, contain background information (cf. e.g. Firbas 1987:34). Salience, in contrast, is related to other factors. A salient item may be activated, and informationally foregrounded, primarily because of other kinds of mutual, or background, or encyclopaedic, knowledge (for different types of knowledge, see e.g. Viehweger 1987; cf. the discussion of the different spheres of context in Firbas 1986:56; cf. also the distinction between *contextually bound* and *non-bound* elements in Sgall et al. 1986:178ff., 187ff.). Hence, crucial information may have any of the statuses on the scale of old and new information, and old information may, or may not, be crucial in the context. When the CIF strategy appears to have taken over, OIF and CIF may appear to be opposites (as in the example on p. 308 above). Their ability to work independently of each other, however, motivates a view in which they are seen as interrelated but distinct parameters.

7.5. Summary: On topicality

In this chapter, clause-initial adverbials of time and place have been viewed from the perspective of information dynamics. In particular, we have seen that Prince's taxonomy of given-new information may profitably be applied to adverbials. It proved to lend itself nicely to the present purposes. The taxonomy provides the analyst with a sufficiently delicate set of handy categories. Of these, the classes of *unused* and *inferrable* entities were of particular interest in this connection. The three main categories - new, inferrable, and evoked - and their intermediate types - brand-new (unanchored and anchored) and unused entities, noncontaining and containing inferrables, and textually and situationally evoked entities - reflect the scale that underlies the classification. Fusing a few categories would obviously lead to a more determinate classification of strategy-marking adverbials. Fewer and larger categories may each include a larger number of items and leave less room for hesitation as even the borderline areas are then fewer. The aim of the above discussion, however, has partly been to discuss the various categories, as many of the intermediate classes were seen to be relevant for adverbials signalling textual shifts. At the same time, it was of interest to emphasize the scalar character of the phenomena we are here dealing with. Even fewer categories would, however, be sufficient to show the relation of the information status of text-strategically important adverbials to the overall hierarchic structure of the text. Thus, the hesitation intentionally included in the above classification and discussion will not affect such general findings.

Clause-initial adverbials of time and place may have any information status. One can discuss the actual categorization of the different adverbials but the following tendency seems clear: the adverbials under attention typically contain information situated in the middle of the scale, rather than at the extreme ends of brand-new or evoked information. The intermediate categories reflect the multifunctional role that these elements have as crucial signals of text-strategic continuity and as indicators of textual shifts, and as points of departure for the textual unit they introduce.

The information status of the various adverbials of time and place in a text-strategic chain may, to some extent, function as an indicator of the hierarchy of text structure. Major textual units may thus be signalled with the help of newer elements than minor units. We have seen in Chapter 6 that markers of major textual boundaries tend to differ from those of minor ones in the size of material. This can be viewed as concomitant with newer elements being included in the marker. Further, the source of familiarity of a minor strategy marker may be less remote than that of a major one. Major markers often refer to an activated narrative schema or a topic entity. These tendencies were above interpreted as a reflection of iconicity in the relationship between the hierarchy of text structure and the information status of the text-strategically important adverbials in the text.

The analysis undertaken above has obviously, to a large extent, been an investigation of text as structure. As pointed out at the beginning of the study, however, the sample texts here have an illustrative function, and the ultimate aim has been an attempt to reconstruct some of the processes that take place in text production and text comprehension. It is thus in this sense that the present study of texts provides us with limited but useful insights into the text strategy that lies behind the product.

Further, the above discussion has dealt with assumed familiarity, as seen from the perspective of the text producer.[28] The text producer's choices of strategies reflect the degree of receiver orientation that s/he wishes to opt for. It is, however, evident that what represents one type of entity for one text receiver may easily be interpreted differently by another. The writer of a tourist guide, for instance, cannot take into account every potential reader's inferencing ability and background knowledge in the delayed communication situation. So this is where texts can go wrong: the text producer's assumptions may not actually tally with the state of things in the text world that the receiver is building up and placing into a universe of discourse. The degree and type of divergence tolerated here both decide whether a text is a success or a failure (cf. also the discussion of operational and evocative texts in 6.1.3. above, p. 118, esp. Note 19).

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[28] The analyst attempting a reconstruction of the strategies used by the text producer is, of course, basically a text receiver, even though s/he tries to look at the hypothesized strategies from several angles.

To sum up, I shall combine concepts from various frameworks considered in the above discussion. These deal with separate but interrelated and overlapping phenomena. To start with, clause-initial adverbials of time and place signalling a TSC are thematic, in the positional sense: it is natural for strategy markers to appear early in their clause or sentence. They may cooccur with other independent themes. Secondly, the adverbials under investigation usually contain old, given, and/or definite information - in the broad sense of these terms - and they function as a setting for the rest of the clause, sentence, or textual unit. At the same time, they often convey information which is crucial for the understanding of the macrostrategy of the discourse. From the perspective of text processing they may, indeed, include a more urgent piece of information than some other item(s), which may comfortably be left till later. They may be more salient, and hence, informationally foregrounded and crucial at the moment of their introduction in the text. As the text proceeds the information status of adverbials containing new information is bound to change and they function as a theme or setting for what follows.

In the above discussion, notions such as *informationally foregrounded*, *salient*, *contextually bound*, or *activated* elements have been used in passing to explain the information status of certain clause-initial adverbials. These concepts concern the crucial information that such adverbials may contain. Crucial information may be of two kinds: new and unpredictable, or else, expectable but necessary for the text strategy and the textual macrostructure. The crucial information conveyed by clause-initial adverbials of time and place in the sample texts is typically of the latter kind (for the new and unpredictable type of crucial information, see p. 308 above). These elements may thus be salient and informationally foregrounded, not because they are striking or unexpected - one of the aspects of salience and foregroundedness - but because they are crucial for the text strategy and therefore activated and persistent. As we have seen, crucial information may appear parallel with old or given information, which is connected with the setting function - and hence, the background-providing role - of clause-initial adverbials.

It is thus evident that the crucial information conveyed by the clause-initial adverbials of time and place under investigation has to do with *topicality* in the sense of their realizing the chosen TSC on the textual surface. Givón relates topicality to the principle that the most urgent task will be first tended to (see e.g. Givón 1983a:20). In this sense adverbials signalling textual shifts appear at crucial points in their clause and in the text. They perform the crucial task of marking textual shifts and the hierarchic structure of the text. Topicality is thus closely connected with notions such as textual macrostructure or macrostrategy, and text-strategic continuity, and it is affected by text type.

Topicality brings us to the domain of *activated frames* and *schemata* (cf. 5.2.1. above, p. 66), *contextually bound* elements (see Sgall et al. 1986:179ff.,187ff.), and *salience* (see Chafe 1987b; Osgood 1980:185ff., 1984:172ff.). In the following chapter one of these concepts, that of *salience*, will be further elaborated on. It will be of interest to view some of its sub-principles from the perspective of adverbials signalling textual shifts, to investigate some of the cognitive principles that affect their position in the clause or sentence.

8. TOWARDS A CONCLUSION

The umbrella term *text strategy* in Fig. 2 in 4.1. above, p. 42, covered clusters of textual parameters, to be weighed in view of each specific communicative goal. So far we have considered the influence of some of these on the placement of adverbials of time and place in narratives and procedural place descriptions. In particular, text type selection and the choice of the degree of conformity to the prototype, decisions concerning TSCs, and thirdly, information dynamics have been noted to be of crucial interest in this connection. Another important notion, that of *experiential iconicity*, has been referred to on several occasions, and it has also been pointed out to have a primary role in the ordering of clause constituents and textual units. Experiential iconicity leads us to the domain of perceptual principles and constraints. Notions such as *salience* and *grounding* have already slipped into the above discussion. A brief overview and an example or two must, however, suffice at this point as an illustration of such cluster concepts, before we go on to discuss the interplay of textual factors in 8.2. More than any other, the present chapter reflects the close connection between the different textual and discoursal factors that go into planning a text strategy. All are cluster concepts, and different starting points will lead to different analyses, which, however, easily overlap. Owing to their position in the clause and sentence, adverbials signalling a TSC may manifest the overlap between several cluster concepts in a particularly conspicuous manner. In the present study, the starting point has been text-strategic continuity, and variables of salience and grounding are here viewed only when they coincide with the main focus of attention. Finally, section 8.3. is devoted to an outline of a text-typological scale that is based on adverbials manifesting a TSC. In line with the present study, the main concern is on the notions of 'time' and 'place', and the scale is basically included by way of summary.

8.1. Other factors

Observations on the order of presenting the various actions or events in a narrative or the different steps of an instruction have repeatedly been made above. As will be remembered, the term *experiential iconicity* has been used by Enkvist to refer to an isomorphy between the text and our experience of the world, instances where the temporal, spatial, causal, or socially conditioned order in the text conforms to our world picture (Enkvist 1981; cf. e.g. 6.1.2.1. above, p. 93).[1] The sample texts reflect this principle by typically conforming to a so-called "natural" or "normal" order of presenting the different elements of the text. Such an order has been referred to as the *ordo naturalis* in the rhetorical tradition. Ordo naturalis, in fact, refers to two different types of order. One is related to the order of presentation of the different elements of the text, the other to the order of constituents in a clause (for the former, see e.g. Enkvist 1981, and for the latter, see e.g. Firbas 1979). Our concern here is, in the first place, the order of the first type.[2] Osgood and Bock, in their discussion of sentence-level *salience* (see below), state that this cluster concept among other variables involves a so-called *temporal naturalness principle*, which explains why it is more difficult to process clauses in an "unnatural" order than in the "natural" one, i.e. the chronological order (Osgood and Bock 1977:94; Osgood 1980:127-130; 1984:169-171). The *order-of-mention contract* and the need to mark deviations from such a "normal" order is frequently discussed in psycholinguistic literature, where experimental results concerning the processing of various orders of presentation by children of different age groups as well as by adults are reported (cf. e.g. Clark and Clark 1977:78-79, 357-359, who also give further references).[3]

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[1] The iconicity must obtain between the text and our experience or picture or perception of the world, rather than between the text and the so-called "real" world, as demonstrated, for instance, by the principles of Gestalt psychology, touched upon below. Hence, our perception of the world seems to be conditioned by mental processes of various kinds although we do experience the perception as one concerning the "real" world.

[2] As to the order of clause constituents, the initial placement of strategy-marking adverbials of time and place in their clause in the types of text investigated in the present study is in accordance with the "natural" order of expressing the setting before the event or action that takes place in that setting or before the phenomenon existing or appearing in that setting (see Firbas 1979; cf. also discussion in 7.2.2. above, pp. 269-271).

The temporal order in the narratives investigated above follows the order of the events and actions in story-time if not marked otherwise (cf. e.g. the flashback episode in CATS:11/23). Adverbials of time, as we have seen, are used to mark textual shifts and/or to convey a lexically weighty content. If they are not needed for motivations such as these, an implicit 'then' is enough for the text receiver to understand the temporal sequentiality of the narrative.[4] The order of clauses in these texts also tends to conform to experiential iconicity (cf. BEARS:9, 13; CATS:2/3, 25/44).

The procedural place descriptions examined above also display temporal sequentiality. Due to the high degree of condensation in these and other similar texts, the iconic temporality may here be left implicit on the textual surface as it is efficiently conveyed through the spatial TSC. Expressing both temporality and spatiality would be uneconomical, and explicit spatiality is thus chosen instead of the redundant temporality (cf. also the discussion of spoken place descriptions, procedural or other, in 6.2.3.1. above, pp. 202-203). The temporal order is implicitly present in the ordering of the various stops and sights of the tour, and more locally, in the ordering of 'location - sight - information about the sight'. The issue of whether spatiality or temporality should here be regarded as the primary notion may be left open in this connection (consider, however, esp. the spatio-temporal TSC dealt with in 6.2.3.3. above, pp. 221-224; for a discussion of *localism*, see e.g. Levinson 1983:84-85; Lyons 1977:669, 718ff.; cf. also Levinson 1992).

Hence, an order of presentation that follows the order of story-time actions and events in narrative or the order of the steps to be taken by the text receiver in instructions is considered more "natural" and hence quicker to process than some other order. Further, deviations from such a

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[3] For discussion of *ordo naturalis* or *natural order*, see also e.g. Brown and Yule 1983:125-126, 144ff.; van Dijk 1977:103ff.; Levelt 1981.

[4] For a discussion of temporal adjacency, see 6.1.2.1. and 6.1.2.5. above, pp. 94 and 105.

"normal" order must be marked.[5] Experiential iconicity, then, is basically a matter of order.[6]

In addition to temporal sequentiality, there are, however, also other perceptual aspects that justify calling one order of constituents, or one order of textual units, more "natural" than some other order. Osgood discussed such perceptual principles under the label *salience* (see Osgood 1980:185ff.; 1984; Osgood and Bock 1977). Three aspects of salience that are of particular interest here are the manifestations in the text of *topicality*, the distinction between *figure* and *ground*, and *human importance*.[7]

Topicality, for Osgood, is one of the three variables of "unnatural" salience. It explains why elements that have been recently processed tend to come first (Osgood 1980:192; cf. the discussion of the ordering of local and global markers in 6.3.3. above, pp. 255-257).[8] In 7.5. above (p.

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[5] It seems that marking a deviation from the temporal order is not always enough when very young children are considered, who consequently still misinterpret the order as one following the *order-of-mention contract* (Clark and Clark 1977:78-79, 358-359).

[6] Excluded from the present discussion is *iconicity* in the more general sense of aspects of text constituting an icon, a picture of some kind of various "real-world" phenomena, experiences, and perspectives on them. In Chapters 6 and 7, the signalling of the hierarchy of text structure was interpreted as iconic, on the grounds that the major boundaries tended to be marked with materials of larger size, which also seemed to convey newer information, than the markers of minor boundaries (cf. e.g. 6.4. and 7.5. above, pp. 260-261 and 313). For discussion of iconicity in syntax, see e.g. Givón 1985, and other contributions to Haiman 1985; cf. also Östman 1989. For iconicity in literary texts, see e.g. Leech and Short 1981:233ff.

[7] Operating with sentences, Osgood makes a distinction between "natural" and "unnatural" salience (Osgood 1980:185ff.; 1984:164ff.; see also Osgood and Bock 1977). Starting from hypotheses concerning cognizing in prelinguistic experience, he claims that natural ordering is the one corresponding as closely as possible to prelinguistically based cognitive principles. Hence, such sentences are quicker to process, and they are earlier present in children's text production and comprehension. The other type of ordering, the so-called "unnatural" salience, is in fact no less "natural" in language use. It arises from the text producer's motivations to express something that is more striking, human-like, or topical before something that is less so, and it may therefore conflict with the so-called "natural" order. Both "natural" and "unnatural" salience are obviously felt natural by text receivers. It is hypothesized that processing such sentences should be less easy than processing "naturally" ordered ones. Secondly, there is a greater difference between text production and text comprehension in the instances where "unnatural" salience enters into the picture than in those ordered according to the principles of "natural" salience, in the sense that, other things being equal, the former should take more of the text receiver's processing capacity than the latter, while the processing load of the text producer should differ less (Osgood 1980:185-186, 190-191; 1984:164, 172ff.).

[8] Owing to topicality, in a situation where the speaker's little dog rushes out behind the neighbour's big dog, the ordering *that ugly mutt belongs to the Smiths down the street* seems more probable than *the Smiths down the street own that ugly mutt* (Osgood 1980:192). Cf. also Note 7 above.

315) it was pointed out that strategy-marking adverbials of time and place are essentially topical, in the sense of their being informationally foregrounded and persistant. They may convey crucial information - a parameter that was argued to be distinct from that of old-new information. They are topical, and hence, salient because they are crucial for the understanding of the text strategy.

The Gestalt psychological concepts of *figure* and *ground* refer to a distinction which we cannot avoid perceiving. We may perceive (see or hear) as figure one organization or another at a given point of time, or change our perception with prolonged inspection or momentary relaxation, but the distinction of a figure from the rest is automatic and obligatory (see e.g. Köhler 1947:120ff.;[9] for the different Gestalt principles, see also e.g. Hilgard and Atkinson 1967:224ff.; Hochberg 1964:126-127; Krech and Crutchfield 1968:87ff.).[10] Therefore, it is not surprising that we as readers also interpret parts of a text as more prominent, standing out as figure, against the rest of the text that we might then call the ground. This has been pointed out in connection with studies of *grounding*, where the more *foregrounded* parts of a text are understood as corresponding to the perceptual concept of figure and the *backgrounded* parts are interpreted as representing the ground (cf. e.g. Reinhart 1984; Talmy 1978; Wallace 1982; Wårvik 1990a; 1992). Text type probably affects grounding to a high degree (cf. Grimes 1975:55-56; see also Longacre 1983:14-17; Wallace 1982:208ff.). The difference between *foreground* and *background* has mostly been studied in narrative text (see e.g. Chvany 1985; 1986; Fleischman 1990:168ff.; Hopper and Thompson 1980; Reinhart 1984; Thompson 1987; Wårvik 1987; 1990a; 1990b; 1990c; 1992; Weber 1983; for grounding in non-narrative text, see Bäcklund 1988). While there is some disagreement as to what exactly is foregrounded, the distinction is relatively conspicuous in narratives. Grounding in non-narrative texts, again, rather being a metaphor, the distinction between foreground and background seem to be expressed differently from narratives - in accordance with the different kinds of global organizing principles at work in such texts.

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[9] Gestalt theory originated from Max Wertheimer's investigations in the 1920's, and dominated psychological research on perception during the two following decades. In addition to Wertheimer, two other names are closely connected with the development of this theory: his students Kurt Koffka and Wolfgang Köhler (Hilgard and Atkinson 1967:19ff.; Hochberg 1964:121).

[10] "As we look at the parts of any differentiated field, we notice that invariably there is one part that stands out in a distinctive way from the remainder. This is technically called the *figure*, and the rest is called the *ground*. Figure-ground differentiation is the simplest and most primitive form of perceptual organization.

The distinction between figure and ground is important because their perceptual properties are different. The figure tends to be better defined, better localized, solider, and more integrated, whereas the ground appears to be less well structured, more indefinite. The figure appears to lie in front or upon the ground, and the ground appears to extend continuously in an unbroken fashion behind the figure. The figure appears to be more the center of attention in the field than does the ground" (Krech and Crutchfield 1968:87-88; *sic*).

Figure-ground differentiation is not limited to visual perception. It "characterizes *all* perceptual experience, including audition, touch, smell, etc. For instance, if there is a continuous tone of a constant pitch and loudness which is interrupted for a moment by a tone of different pitch or loudness, we hear the brief tone as "figure" on the "ground" of the continuous tone. And a tiny pebble in one's shoe may be perceived as a "figure" against the otherwise uniform pressure of the foot on the sole" (Krech and Crutchfield 1968:89-90; *sic*).

The two sample narratives frequently contain a strategy-marking adverbial - more precisely, one denoting 'point-of-time' - at the beginning of a temporally sequential main clause that is crucial to the plot and that may be characterized as foregrounded according to a number of different criteria (for criteria, see Wårvik 1987; 1990a; 1990b; 1990c; 1992). These adverbials may then be said to add to the foregroundedness of their clause (see Wårvik 1987:348). At the same time, other kinds of temporal adverbials, such as adverbials of frequency or duration, were seen to begin backgrounded passages, for instance embedded descriptions. Such adverbials may signal, or add to, the backgroundedness of the textual unit that they initiate. By virtue of their position, it is natural for adverbials signalling a TSC to perform a number of different functions in the text. They may thus contribute to grounding, which, however, is basically indicated with the help of other elements in the text.

The following example displays an adverbial of time marking a major textual shift in the narrative. This is the starting point of the temporally sequential story line, after the orientation. The initial adverbial of definite time is succeeded by another adverbial which contributes to the backgrounding of the three bears, thus anticipating a break in participant continuity in the foregrounded main clause.

(1) *One morning, while the bears were out walking*, a little girl called Goldilocks came to their house. (BEARS:3)[11]

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[11] In BEARS, reference is made to the episode, in GFM, to the move. CATS:*2/3*, in (3) below, stands for 'episode 2, paragraph 3'. EDIN:*1/4* in (4), below, indicates 'paragraph 1, move 4'. See Appendix 1.

As pointed out above, grounding has mostly been studied in narratives. In procedural place descriptions, adverbials signalling the locative TSC occur in temporally sequential move clauses, which are basically finite main clauses. Locatives indicating a new move may, however, also begin subordinate clauses, which in narratives often contain backgrounded material (see e.g. Wårvik 1987; 1990c; for an exception, see the discussion in 6.1.2.1. above, pp. 97-98). This breaks the monotony of a highly condensed travel-guide text, such as the following. It may also reflect the taxonomy of the content of the text. Cf. also Note 72 in 6.2.3.2. above, p. 216.

(2) *Opposite* is the entrance to the Crypt, *beyond which, at the angle of the dome-space*, is a statue of John Howard (1726-90), the prison reformer, the first monument allowed in the new St Paul's. (Spence 1984:62)

Let us briefly consider the effects of the figure-ground distinction and human importance on the placement of locatives in procedural place descriptions. The GFM text will provide us with an illustrative example. The *motivation-of-speaker* principle (Osgood and Bock 1977; Osgood 1980:192ff., 1984:172ff.) - related, for instance, to the *me-first* principle in Cooper and Ross 1975 - may be seen to influence the text strategy: the author takes the reader first to a location where the next sight is or where the next instruction concerning the way is needed, and thereafter gives her/him the relevant information. In other words, as the most human elements tend to be the most salient, the location that the tourist is to proceed to is at that point more salient than the sight.[12]

We may, next, consider the GFM text from the perspective of *figure* and *ground*. Osgood and Bock (1977) operate with these concepts at the sentence-level, which in this and other similar texts would seem to lead to experiencing a violation of the "natural" order of 'figure-state-ground', cf. e.g. *on the day bed is laid out a baby's layette* (GFM:4). Perceptionally, however, the result remains the same: the baby's layette is still perceived as figure (cf. also Note 2 on p. 317 above). We have seen above that this ordering conforms to topicality, and to the temporal naturalness principle (or experiential iconicity).

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[12] The motivation-of-speaker principle may lead to textualizations such as *the KEY was taken by somebody!* if the 'key' is the focus of attention for the speaker rather than the 'somebody' in *somebody took the key* (Osgood 1980:192; Osgood 1984:172).

On the level of text and discourse, it could perhaps be hypothesized that, due to speaker-motivation, the reader(s) together with the guiding author, as human beings, are first perceived (by the author) as figures against the ground of the museum and the surroundings in general (cf. also Wallace 1982:215). The writer then assuming the perspective of the reader, the route that the reader is supposed to follow now becomes the figure, which results in the location being expressed prior to the sight. As an observer the reader then, of course, also becomes part of the ground, and the museum itself thereafter constitutes what s/he perceives as a figure.

Next, the various parts of the museum would then be perceived as figures, picked out from the ground that is the whole of the museum, or the whole text (cf. especially longer texts of this kind). Within these parts, first the separate floors and then the specific rooms become figures as the previous figures in turn become integrated into the ground, so that, finally, the sights themselves are perceived as figures against the ground of their particular location.

One could go on hypothesizing around these matters. Is the reader guided first to the main building, and there, into the rooms people typically live in, because of the me-first principle? Is s/he first led to the museum and then to its surroundings because of the figure-ground differentiation and the temporal naturalness principle?

To take a few other examples of manifestations of perceptual phenomena in the sample texts, the respective order in clause-initial clusters of adverbials may next be paid some attention. The order of two successive adverbials in a clause-initial or sentence-initial position has above been noted to proceed from the general to the particular and from the including to the included (cf. van Dijk 1977:106ff.; see 6.3.3. above, p. 256). They display the effect of "zooming in", as opposed to zooming out or distancing, as the reader is guided to a new sight or a new stage in the narrative, cf. e.g. (1) and (2) on pp. 321-322 above, and (3) and (4) below. The order often also follows temporal sequentiality, as pointed out above, cf. e.g. (3) and (4) below, or (2) above.

(3) *The next morning, as soon as they woke up*, they ran to the window to admire their garden. (CATS:2/3)

(4) *Off Dalry Road in Orwell Place* is Dalry House--- (EDIN:1/4)

Let me summarize some of the variables that enter into what Osgood calls *salience dynamics*. "Natural" salience in sentencing means respecting the *temporal naturalness principle*, as well as conforming to the patterns of 'figure-state-ground' and 'actor-action-recipient'. But conflicts may arise if the text producer feels a need to express before everything else something that s/he experiences as more striking, human-like, or topical. Of these variables - termed *vividness*, *motivation-of-speaker*, and *topicality* - Osgood uses the label "unnatural" salience. Both "natural" and "unnatural" salience are obviously felt natural by language users (see Osgood 1980:186, 190ff.; 1984:164ff., 172ff.; see also Notes 7, 8, and 12 above, pp. 319, and 322).

Salience may thus be of two kinds. Interesting for the present study are several aspects connected with both "natural" and "unnatural" salience. To start with "natural" salience, temporal naturalness has been discussed in terms of experiential iconicity. As we are not here concerned with participant continuity, the "naturalness" of the pattern 'actor-action-recipient' may be ignored in this connection. Figure-ground relationships were above briefly viewed in terms of the placement of locative adverbials in the clause in procedural place descriptions. The second type of salience, termed "unnatural" by Osgood, has also been touched upon above. Topicality was briefly considered in Chapter 7 (cf. 7.5., and the discussion of the CIF pattern of information dynamics in 7.4.). Vividness is not at issue here but speaker-motivation was touched upon above, in connection with the surface ordering 'ground-state-figure' in procedural place descriptions. This order is in accordance with topicality and temporal naturalness.

Two different types of salience in narrative have been discussed by Chafe (1987b:94-99). Here, salience may be based on unexpectedness or the relative centrality of the elements to the plot. Text-strategically important adverbials in narratives are not of the first-order, unexpected kind. They are rather connected to what Chafe calls *a second order of salience*, i.e. salience based on plot centrality. Furthermore, foregrounding in narrative has been noted to be of two kinds, i.e. based on deviation or parallelism (see van Peer 1986; 1987; cf. also Wårvik 1990a). Here too, adverbials indicating a TSC are related to the second type, originating in *parallelism*. As van Peer puts it, this type of mechanism "comes into being through repetitive structures: some verbal configurations are (partly) repeated, thereby creating linguistic structures drawing the reader's attention, and hence being promoted into the foreground of text processing" (van Peer 1987:150; cf. also van Peer 1986:22-23). An element may thus be in this sense salient and foregrounded either because it is somehow striking, unexpected, or deviant in the surroundings in which it appears, or because it is central to the main thread of the text or occurs repetitively. It is evident that the sample texts primarily reflect salience of the second type. First-order salience (Chafe 1987b:94-96), or foregrounding originating in deviation (van Peer 1986:22-23; 1987:150), does not lie in the nature of adverbials signalling a TSC. This is so because their primary function is to give the text receiver a clue to the producer's text strategy, as we have seen above. The texts investigated here reflect a maximal reader orientation.

8.2. Conflicts and conspiracies: On the interplay of factors

In the course of the preceding chapters, text-strategically important adverbials of time and place have been discussed primarily from the perspectives of text type, text-strategic continuity, information dynamics, and experiential iconicity. In 4.1. such influential principles were viewed as factors to be reckoned with in the recursive process of text-strategic planning. At this point, a brief summary of the interplay of different factors influencing the position of adverbials of time and place in the sample texts is in order.

To begin with, why do so many textual and discoursal factors conspire towards the same arrangement in the types of text examined above? If we look at the different factors one by one, we soon notice that what these choices have in common is a strong contribution towards readability. In reader-oriented texts the text producer aims at giving the text receiver necessary clues to the particular text strategy that lies behind the text. In this way s/he wishes to facilitate the text receiver's task of text processing. Adverbial placement may be used as an efficient device for text structuring. As we have seen, it may indicate text type, and hence, give the text receiver a possibility to benefit from intertextuality. A systematic use of TSCs and expected patterns of information dynamics contribute to the ease of text processing. The temporal TSC may be left implicit if the text conforms to experiential iconicity. The more condensed the text, the more it relies on experiential iconicity and salience, where possible. What the above texts have in common is the strive for receiver orientation; one of their main differences, again, is the degree of condensation.

In narratives, the temporal TSC typically coincides with experiential iconicity, and it may then be left implicit. It can, however, be explicitly marked, as we have seen, to signal textual shifts. The dominant temporal TSC in narrative was above noted to be contagious: a number of textual and discoursal functions may be served in a temporally organized text by the temporal adverbials placed in the textually important initial position. Initial placement of adverbials of time in clauses starting a new textual unit is in accordance with the principle of expressing the setting before the action or event that takes place in that setting. Strategy-marking adverbials, as pointed out in Chapter 7, may have any information status. Thus, in the instances where the adverbial signalling the temporal TSC contains a larger amount of CD than the subsequent context-dependent subject-NP, the OIF pattern is not followed in the clause. The linear arrangement with an initial V^2 adverbial of time is, however, often closer to the interpretative arrangement than a linearization with the adverbial in clause-final position, i.e. the SVOA order. The partial mismatch between the linear and the interpretative arrangement is here prompted by the temporal TSC steering the text. Initial placement of strategy-marking adverbials is thus in accordance with the CIF principle: they come first in the clause or sentence because they convey information that is crucial to the understanding of the text strategy. The dominant temporal TSC creates cohesion and coherence in the text. Its signals serve to segment the text and to indicate the hierarchy of text structure. In addition to the number and/or size of the markers, their information status may also contribute to the accomplishment of this task. Several factors in the near-prototypical narratives under investigation thus seem to conspire towards efficient text processing. Conflicts typically arise between the demands of sentence grammar and those of the text. Hence, the sentence grammar ordering of SVOA has to yield to the stronger textual forces at play. And the OIF strategy must occasionally give in to the text-strategically more important CIF strategy and the manifestations of structural iconicity in the text.

In a heavily condensed instruction, such as the prototypical travel-guide text, it is important to follow expected strategies. In procedural place descriptions, the dominant organizing principle is typically the spatial TSC. In addition to binding the text together, the chain of locative markers indicating this continuity also serves text segmentation. The spatial continuity is an economical choice: it merges with the implicit temporal continuity, and potentially with a topic continuity. It may also be argued to convey implicit participant and action continuities by taking the text receiver on a tour. Hence, it conforms to experiential iconicity and salience (in terms of the temporal naturalness principle, speaker-motivation, and the figure-ground distinctions, as explained above). The apparent reversal of the order of figure and ground on the sentence level was above seen to benefit the overall organization of the text, in terms of the spatial text-strategic continuity, experiential iconicity, the OIF pattern, the order of expressing the setting before the phenomenon existing in that setting, and the salience parameters of topicality and speaker-motivation. Further, procedural place descriptions display an underlying conflict between sentence grammar and the text: the syntactically unmarked positioning of locative adverbials clause-finally has not been followed here. They appear clause-initially in order to fulfil textual functions. The extreme instance of deviation from the canonical order found in the sample texts is the typical move clause in travel guides: even a V^1 adverbial may here be placed initially in its clause, to mark a shift in the spatial TSC. The adverbial thus appears before its verb to which it is tied by valency. Motivations for such an order have above been looked for in the text and discourse that the clause and sentence is part of: the clause and sentence was found to have the best textual fit in the context. Sentence grammar has here been forced to yield to the demands of the information structure necessary in such a clause or sentence. We have seen that the interpretative arrangement may lead to a particular linear arrangement that does not tally with the canonical order of constituents in sentence grammar. Further, the information structure necessitating the swivelling of SVA_s to A_sVS is conditioned by the dominant TSC in the text, as shown in Chapter 6. The clause-initial placement of V^1 adverbials in procedural place descriptions conforms to the spatial TSC, experiential iconicity, and the interpretative arrangement of the clause, inter alia.

In the light of the data investigated for the purposes of the present study, it seems that whenever conflicting forces operate on an individual sentence, the demands of the text and discourse override those of sentence grammar. In other words, sentence grammar with its uncontextualized, "basic" clause patterns is stretched as far as possible to provide an optimal textual fit for the particular clause or sentence. The clause or sentence thus conforms to patterns of information dynamics, which in turn are conditioned by the TSC chosen to structure the text.

Let us now proceed to the text-strategic level, to deal with the interplay of different textual forces in the sample texts. First of all, it is clear that adverbial placement varies according to text type. Secondly, the TSC is affected at least by the type of text, the degree of prototypicality, discourse topic, style, the degree of condensation strived for in the text, and the degree of reader orientation. Thirdly, it seems likely that the selected TSC has a crucial influence on several other textual parameters. We have seen that, if necessary, the chosen TSC is realized even when this gives rise to a conflict with the sentence-level OIF pattern. In such instances it is the CIF pattern that seems to motivate the ordering: the chosen TSC converges with topicality. The information status of the strategy-marking adverbials may also contribute to the signalling of the hierarchy of text structure. Finally, experiential iconicity does not seem to be a regulating force; rather, it is made use of whenever it proves handy in view of the total strategy of the text.

The interplay of the different textual and discoursal factors is not always easy to define, but one may well assume that the competitive strength of the factor(s) causing the actual placement must be greater than that of the others. Above, it has been shown that when conflicts arise, the overall tendency seems to be for textual factors to outweigh the more restricted, sentence-bound principles of adverbial placement. Important textual factors affecting or determining surface ordering were seen to include the choice and degree of conformity to text type, text-strategic continuities, principles of information dynamics, and experiential iconicity.

8.3. Text-typological considerations

Let us now return to the temporal TSC typically present in narratives and see how far it may be used in text typology.[13] There is a scale ranging from texts that are typically arranged temporally to others that rather conform to a temporally iconic, logical succession in discourse (cf. the all-pervasiveness of time in our lives), with several types in between. The non-temporal organizing principles of expository and argumentative text will not be considered here.

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TEMPORAL                                                           LOGICAL
SUCCESSION <-------------------------------------------------> SUCCESSION
         nar/////            /////des/////             /////arg
                ///////ins//////////////
                                //////////////exp///////
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Figure 19. ***The relative positions of five types of text on a scale of 'temporal' vs. 'logical' succession in discourse*** **(nar = narration; des = description; arg = argumentation; ins = instruction; and exp = exposition).**

While narratives are always, implicitly or explicitly, temporally organized, argumentation, in the sense of certain culture-specific patterns of presenting rather openly evaluative discourse, may be structured with the help of various logical connectors, some of which indicate a temporally iconic logical succession in discourse. A fundamental aspect of instructive, or procedural, texts is their strict conformity to experiential iconicity, which makes explicit markers of time, in their primary function, unnecessary. These texts vary, however, from more narrative-like texts that make use of temporal signals as explicit markers of shifts, to more description-like, or even exposition-like texts using enumerative conjuncts instead (for the term, see CGEL:634). Expository texts, again, range from

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[13] For a discussion of time as a criterion in text typology, see e.g. 5.3. and 6.2.2. above, pp. 73ff. and 134. In outlining the scale in Fig. 19, I have started out from Werlich's (1976) five types of text, see 5.1.2. above, pp. 60-61.

"expository narratives" to blends of exposition and argumentation. In between, we may find another flexible category that may still justifiably be distinguished from the others, i.e. description. It often follows what may be called 'generic' time, and it may, therefore, if embedded into another type of text, be relatively easily adjusted to match the time orientation of its frame text if necessary. Descriptions, the most "neutral" category on the scale of Fig. 19, vary from "suggestive", typically found in multitype narratives, to more expository ones.

On a high level of abstraction, the scale thus displays a gradual change from the explicit temporal TSC to an implicit one, as we proceed from left to right. Similarly, we may discern a gradual change from a variety of explicit signals of logical succession to a smaller array, as we proceed from right to left. Hence, narratives often manifest explicit temporal signals but few logical markers (e.g. *so*), while an openly argumentative text may contain a large number of text-structuring signals, which are seldom merely enumerative.

As we have seen, text-strategy markers may also be locative. These result in another type of scale, with prototype texts essentially involving the middle area of Fig. 19. None of these three text types (i.e. description, instruction, and exposition), however, need to be spatially steered as 'space' need not be part of their discourse topic. On the other hand, chains of expressions marking a locative TSC may also appear in narratives. Still, the texts that really form a locative sub-group of the three temporally intermediate types are descriptions and expository accounts of spatial relationships, and route instructions.

Furthermore, the scale may be considered in terms of experiential iconicity. Such a perspective also implies a view of the scale as a reflection of the degree of universality vs. culture specificity (cf. Enkvist 1988). Narratives, instructions, and descriptions (as well as expository texts dealing with spatial phenomena) may be temporally and/or spatially iconic. And such iconic texts may be assumed to be more universal, at least as long as the picture of the world on which the iconicity in the text is based remains relatively constant cross-linguistically. Conversely, most expository texts and in particular argumentative texts are rather organized according to various culture-specific patterns. As pointed out above, however, they may, but need not, manifest a series of enumerative markers of logical succession in discourse, which may be iconic of markers of the temporal succession in narrative. But this relation pertains to text types and markers of text structure characteristic of different types of text: these texts do not conform to experiential iconicity.

Finally, the scale also manifests the distinction between participant continuity and topic continuity as defined in 6.1.2.3. and 6.1.2.4. above, p. 101ff. Thus, the text types typically manifesting participant continuity are situated at the left-hand end of the scale, with explicit participant continuity in narratives. The alternation in the size of referential choices discussed in Chapter 6 is prototypically found in narrative. The continuity becomes implicit in instructions, while descriptions may contain either participant continuity (usually non-agentive) or topic continuity. Topic continuity is again typically found in the types of text situated at the right-hand end of the scale.

9. SUMMARY

The aim of the present study was to illustrate some of the textual and discoursal motivations that may be assumed to influence the placement of adverbials in their clause. A crucial concept has thus been *text strategy*, and attention has been paid to clause-initial adverbials of time and place in two types of text, i.e. narratives and procedural place descriptions. *Discourse* has here been interpreted as a broad notion, which includes the concept of *text* and its situational context. In Chapter 2, the syntactic category of *adverbials* was dealt with, and adverbial placement was viewed in terms of different models of word order. It was pointed out that some phenomena such as adverbial placement, which at first sight seem to concern sentence structure, cannot be fully accounted for unless the textual and discoursal neighbourhood of the adverbial is reckoned with. Further, a dynamic, processualist view of the phenomena under investigation was advocated to supplement the traditional structuralist, product-oriented approach. It was also noted that in studies of text and discourse, a continuous shift of perspective is often needed: the focus of attention may look different depending on whether we adopt a bird's-eye view or a worm's-eye view. Chapter 2 included motivations for the delimitation of the study to time and place adverbials appearing at the beginning of their clause. In 2.4. a syntactic classification of adverbials was presented. The model has the advantage of showing the correlation between the depth of a particular adverbial in the X-bar tree and the ease with which it may move in the clause.

The methods and materials of the present study were discussed in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4 the notion of *text strategy* was defined and viewed in a wider context. This resulted in a text-typological model which included the hypothesis of two different levels of types, i.e. *discourse types* and *text types*. This model has been referred to throughout the study. A survey of *text typologies*, included in Chapter 5, helped to place the types of text under investigation within a larger framework. Important for the characterization of the sample texts was the continuum between *unitype* and *multitype* texts, introduced in 5.2.2. The present study concentrated on unitype texts. In the course of the study it became evident that text type has a crucial influence on the placement of certain types of adverbials in their clause.

Chapter 6, which dealt with *text-strategic continuities* (TSC), constituted the central part of the study. It contained a theoretical part (6.1.), followed by detailed analyses of four sample texts (6.2.). In 6.1.1. the notion of TSC was discussed, and a survey of the different continuities was presented in 6.1.2. TSC was said to have two main functions: it may be used to create cohesion and coherence in the text, and at the same time, it may be used to segment the text. Both of these textual functions have the discourse-pragmatic effect of facilitating text processing. TSCs in different prototypical types of texts were dealt with in 6.1.3. Finally, cooccurrences and combinations of different TSCs were related to text type as well as unitype and multitype texts.

In 6.2. four sample texts were analysed in detail. Units of text segmentation to be used in the subsequent analyses were first discussed. The temporal TSC was then examined in two sample narratives. The interplay of different continuities and the influence of the overall narrative design were seen to provide explanations for sentence-level phenomena such as the placement of adverbials in their clause or the choice of an NP vs. pronominal realization for a continuous participant. The use of anticipated and prolonged shifts were seen to have a function in the marking of tension on the textual surface. There seemed to be inheritance from higher levels of the hierarchic structure of the text so that lower-level textual boundaries displayed in general fewer text-strategic markers or different types of markers than higher-level shifts.

In 6.2.3. spatial continuity was investigated in the light of two samples from tourist guides. Such procedural place descriptions were seen to display a high degree of condensation, and the choice of TSC in them was noted to be a result of this tendency. Here, the spatial TSC offers the text producer the most economical alternative, as the text receiver may profit from implicit continuities and experiential iconicity. The tour pattern was noted to prevail not only in tourist guides but also in other types of descriptions, instructions, or expositions concerned with spatial phenomena. Procedural place descriptions also provided examples of locative NPs marking moves. The type of adverbial placed initially in the strategically important clauses could in these texts be of the type V^1

as well as V^2 (for these categories, see the syntactic classification of adverbials presented in 2.4.). This was said to reflect the strength of the textual forces, as the demands of the canonical ordering of sentence grammar were here ignored. The taxonomic content of the text was seen to show in the hierarchy of moves in these texts. Major moves were marked differently from minor moves. In 6.2.3.3. another type of locative reference, 'distance', was briefly dealt with. It relates to the spatio-temporal continuity and the borderline area between spatiality and temporality.

The analysis of the sample texts in 6.2.2. and 6.2.3. ended with a section (6.2.4.) in which the results of a small-scale paragraphing test were discussed. The test was conducted to find support for the segmentation of the sample texts earlier in the chapter, which was used as a basis for the analysis of adverbials of time and place.

Section 6.3. contained a summary of the text-strategically important adverbials of time and place in the sample texts. Semantic and structural aspects of these clause-initial adverbials were first dealt with, and their verbal ties and the type of clause they appeared in were then investigated. Finally, an examination of the relative order of clause-initial adverbials signalling textual shifts was undertaken. Strategy markers were seen to precede other adverbials, which typically had a specifying function. Adverbials containing a local link were seen to precede markers of the global strategy.

Chapter 7 concentrated on *information dynamics*. The thematic status of clause-initial adverbials of time and place was first discussed. Text-strategically important adverbials were then viewed from the perspective of the scale of communicative dynamism (CD) conveyed through the different elements of the clause. In narratives clause-initial adverbials of time were often seen to contain a larger amount of CD than the subsequent context-dependent subject NP, resulting in a slight mismatch between the linear and the interpretative arrangement. This surface ordering was, however, said to be closer to the interpretative arrangement than an alternative in which the strategy-marking adverbial would appear clause-finally in this type of text. In procedural place descriptions, the linear order of A_sVS was seen to correspond to the interpretative arrangement.

The main analysis of the information status of the clause-initial adverbials and their source of familiarity was conducted using categories from Prince's taxonomy of given-new information. The taxonomy was seen to be applicable to adverbials. It was shown to have the advantages of reflecting the scalar character of the phenomena under investigation while at the same time providing the analyst with a number of handy categories sufficiently delicate for the analysis. It was pointed out that text-strategically important adverbials may have any information status, though inferrables were noted to be the typical category represented by the clause-initial adverbials signalling a TSC. Even the information status of the strategy-marking adverbials was argued to reflect the hierarchic structure of the text.

Section 7.4. was devoted to the two patterns of OIF (='old-information-first') and CIF (='crucial-information-first'). They were argued to represent two separate, though interrelated, parameters. Finally, text-strategically important adverbials were considered from the perspective of topicality.

Chapter 8, finally, contained three different sections. First, clause-initial adverbials indicating a temporal or spatial TSC were discussed in the light of a number of other textual and discoursal factors, in particular the cluster concepts of *grounding* and *salience*. Of the two types of salience, two types of foregroundedness, or two types of cruciality, strategy-marking adverbials were claimed to be related to the principles of temporal naturalness, topicality, plot centrality, parallelism, and information crucial for the understanding of the text strategy, to use overlapping terminology from different approaches. In 8.2. motivations for the clause-initial placement of adverbials signalling a TSC were discussed in terms of conflicts and conspiracies. The demands of the text and discourse were argued to win over those of the sentence, and sentence grammar was said to yield, as far as possible, to textual and discoursal forces. Important textual principles include the chosen TSC(s), information dynamics, and experiential iconicity. Finally, it is evident on the basis of the present study that text type has a crucial influence on a number of textual parameters, and hence, on the placement of adverbials of time and place in their clause and sentence. In 8.3. a text-typological scale based on chains of clause-initial adverbials was outlined by way of summary.

For a more detailed overview of the contents of the study, the reader is invited to consult the section-final and chapter-final summaries.

The two types of texts examined above both represent reader-oriented discourse. They differ in the degree of condensation strived for in the text. Both reader orientation and condensation are visible on the textual surface - they show in the strategy of the sample texts. Both text types rely on experiential iconicity when this is possible and when it is the optimal text-strategic choice. Text-strategically important adverbials - adverbials of time in narratives and adverbials of place in procedural place descriptions - are typically placed at the beginning of their clause to mark a shift to a new textual unit, such as a move, an episode, or a section. At other points, and in other types of text, adverbials of time and place usually appear non-initially.

In sum, the study shows that sentence-level phenomena such as adverbial placement cannot be fully accounted for if the text and discourse which the sentence is part of is not taken into consideration; further, that in the instance of a conflict, the demands of the text and discourse are given a heavier weight than those of the canonical sentence; and finally, that text type is of crucial importance in any study of text. Variation in adverbial placement is to a high degree determined by text type. Important textual principles affecting the position of adverbials of time and place in the clause in the types of texts investigated here have been shown to include the choice of text type and the degree of prototypicality, the choice of TSCs, principles of information dynamics, and experiential iconicity. In written texts the positioning of certain adverbials seem to be of crucial importance to the text receiver, as they may function as clues to the text strategy that lies behind the text. As such, they also have an important function in the signalling of changes in text type in multitype texts.

The different textual factors discussed in the present study seem to overlap to a considerable extent. What precisely is the relation between TSC and information dynamics? And what about cluster concepts such as experiential iconicity, salience, or grounding? Are the textual and discoursal factors discussed here, in fact, independent of each other, representing different aspects of the text strategy? Or, are some of them synonymous, in which case one of them may be cut out with Occam's

Razor? Overlapping phenomena were considered in terms of different theoretical frameworks especially in the later chapters. These are difficult questions that may at this point only be given a partial answer. In the light of the present study, it seems that distinguishing the TSC, information dynamics and experiential iconicity as different aspects of text-strategic planning is justifiable, as the three seem to affect adverbial placement in the data investigated here in slightly different fashions.

We have seen that experiential iconicity, in the sense of temporal naturalness, may be made use of in the choice of implicit and explicit TSCs. Further, the choice of a TSC is obviously related to information dynamics in the sense of topicality, as outlined in Chapter 7. The two may, however, conflict with each other, and adverbials signalling a TSC may have any information status. The basic pattern of OIF in the clause may thus be overruled by the dominant TSC in the text or text fragment. The TSC, and topicality, may, of course, be accounted for in terms of the CIF strategy. This, however, relates to salience, which again contains several parameters. Hence, in the extreme interpretation, everything in a text is salient, but the type of salience differs. Similarly, everything in a text may be text-strategically important, and thus, have a textual function of some kind. What is evident on the basis of the present study is the fact that the interplay of factors may only be discussed in relation to text type.

To conclude, the purpose of the present study is to add to our knowledge of the different factors that influence adverbial placement. More generally, it may be said to contribute to our understanding of text and discourse as structure and as process. Hence, it seems to contain elements applicable to language teaching and to processes of editing and translating discourse and text. Another potential field of application is thus the domain of cross-cultural communication.

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APPENDIX 1. *Sample texts.*

TEXT 1: BEARS

Superscripted numbers indicate episodes. References to this text are made in the form of, for instance, *BEARS:1*, which stands for 'episode 1'.

THREE BEARS

[1]Once upon a time three bears lived in a house in the woods. There was a great big bear, a medium-sized bear and a little, small, wee bear. All the bears liked porridge and had their own special porridge bowls. The great big bear had a great big bowl; the medium-sized bear had a medium-sized bowl; and the little, small wee bear had a teeny, weeny bowl.

[2]Every morning the three bears went out for a walk while their porridge cooled.

[3]One morning while the bears were out walking, a little girl called Goldilocks came to their house. First she looked through the window. Then she peeped through the keyhole.
'Is anyone home?' she called.
There was no reply. Goldilocks opened the door and went in.

[4]The bears' breakfast smelled so good that Goldilocks suddenly felt hungry. She tasted the porridge in the great big bowl. It was so hot that is burnt her tongue. The porridge in the medium-sized bowl was so cold it made her shiver. But the porridge in the teeny, weeny bowl was just right.
'Ah,' sighed Goldilocks, and she ate it all up.

[5]Goldilocks felt tired, so she went into the sitting room to rest. First she tried the great big chair. It was far too big for her, and the cushion was horribly hard.

[6]Then Goldilocks sat down on the medium-sized chair. The cushion was so soft that she sank right into it.

[7]'The teeny, weeny chair looks just right,' she thought.
And it was. But Goldilocks sat down so hard that the chair broke to bits and she fell BUMP! on to the floor.

[8]Goldilocks went upstairs to try the beds. The great big bed was much too high and the quilt too thick. The medium-sized bed was much too low and the quilt too thin.

[9]Goldilocks looked at the teeny, weeny bed near the window. It was just the right height, and had a beautiful patchwork quilt just the right thickness. As soon as Goldilocks climbed in she fell fast asleep.
Just then the bears came home, very hungry after their walk.

[10]'Somebody's been eating **my** porridge!' roared the great big bear in a great gruff voice.
'Somebody's been eating **my** porridge!' growled the medium-sized bear in a medium-sized voice.
'Somebody's been eating **my** porridge,' said the little, small, wee bear in a little, small, wee voice. 'And it's all gone!'

[11]The three bears looked in their sitting room.
'Somebody's been sitting on **my** chair!' roared the great big bear.
'Somebody's been sitting on **my** chair!' growled the medium-sized bear.
'Somebody's been sitting on **my** chair!' wailed the little, small, wee bear, 'and broken it to bits!'

[12]The three bears went upstairs.
'Somebody's been lying in **my** bed!' roared the great big bear.
'Somebody's been lying in **my** bed!' growled the medium-sized bear.

'Somebody's been lying in **my** bed,' cried the little, small, wee bear, 'and she's still there!'

[13]The little, small, wee voice was so shrill that Goldilocks woke up at once. When she saw the three bears, she tumbled out of bed in fright.

[14]Goldilocks rushed to the open window and jumped out. She ran through the woods as fast as she could, and the three bears never saw her again.

Three Bears (c) 1983 Retold by Wendy Boase. Published in the U.K. by Walker Books Limited and reprinted by their permission.

TEXT 2: CATS

In the following, sections, sub-sections, and episodes are indicated in the left-hand column. Episodes have running numbers (highlighted). Paragraphs are also numbered, see the superscripted numbers. References to this text are made in the form of, for instance, *CATS:1/1*, which stands for 'episode one, paragraph 1'.

THE CATS WHO STAYED FOR DINNER

1-1-1 [1]One evening in spring, a man and a woman moved into a new house. Just outside their door there was a garden. It was a pretty garden, with flowers and grass and even a tree.

[2]They were very happy, because it isn't easy to find a real garden for your very own, right in the middle of a big city.

2 [3]The next morning, as soon as they woke up, they ran to the window to admire their garden.

[4]But what do you think they saw? CATS!

[5]They saw so many cats, they almost couldn't see the flowers, or the grass, or the tree.

[6]Big cats, black cats, little cats, yellow cats, white cats, grey cats, kittens. Cats with spots, and cats with stripes. And every

single cat was skinny, scraggly, scrawny and smudged with soot of the city. And every cat had fleas.

3 [7]"Oh, dear!" cried the man and the woman. "There are so many cats in our garden, there isn't enough room for us."

[8]They shouted, "Go away! Shoo! Go home!"

4 [9]But the cats only sat and stared at the man and woman. They could not go home, because they had no home. The little garden was the only place they had to call their own.

1-2-5 [10]All day the cats played in the pretty garden. They chased the beetles and the butterflies, and smelled the flowers, and climbed the tree, and played a game of tag along the top of the fence.

[11]They had a very good time.

6 [12]But the man and the woman did no have a good time at all. They wanted to sow flower seeds, and mow the long grass, and dig out the choking weeds, and rest in the sweet spring sun.

[13]But with all those cats in the little garden, there simply wasn't room enough for them too.

2-1-7 [14]That night, the cats disappeared. They went out in search of food.

8 [15]Every night they had to look for left-overs that had been thrown away, for, since they had no home, they had no one to feed them.

9 [16]The man and woman went into the garden.

[17]They found a big hole under the fence.

[18]"This is how those cats get in," they decided. "We will fill it in, and then we will have the garden to ourselves." They filled in the hole under the fence.

10 [19]The next morning they woke up smiling.

[20]They hurried to the window to admire their garden.

[21]But can you guess what they saw?

[22]YES! Cats!

11 [23]The big cats had climbed over the fence. Then they had dug a new hole under the fence to let in the kittens that were still too little to climb so high.

2-2-12 [24]Every day the cats played in the pretty garden. They would not go away.

13 [25]The man and woman were the ones who had to stay away. They could only look at the weeds growing stronger and the grass growing longer. They could only look at the sun and their tree. They were most unhappy.

3-1-14 [26]One evening the woman found that there was a bit of milk left over after supper.

[27]"I may as well give it to those skinny, scraggly, scrawny cats," she decided. She poured it into a pan and put it in the garden. That was on Monday.

15 [28]On Tuesday, she ordered a whole extra quart of milk from the milkman. By mistake, of course.

[29]Do you know what she did with it?

16 [30]On Wednesday, she bought too much chopped meat at the butcher's shop - another mistake?

17 [31]On Thursday, she came upon an extra dozen eggs in her shopping bag. But they did not go to waste, for eggs are fine for cats.

18 [32]On Friday, the mackerel in the market looked so firm and fresh that the woman completely forgot that they were having supper with friends that evening. She bought some mackerel and brought it home.

19 [33]Then, of course, she couldn't throw it away - because she knew how cats feel about FISH.

20 [34]"Now mind you," the woman warned the cats, "just because I give you food, you mustn't think I like having you here in our garden. I just happen to have bought this extra food by mistake."

21 [35]The cats sat still and stared at her. Then they all CLOSED their big, round, yellow-green eyes.

3-2-22 [36]On Sunday, it rained.

[37]From their window, the man and woman could see the cats huddled together under the weeds.

[38]"I don't have much to do today," the man announced. "I think I'll rig up some kind of shelter for those cats - just for something to do."

[39]He made a tent of striped canvas and stretched it over a corner of the garden so that the cats would have a dry place to sleep.

23 [40]"But remember," he scolded, "just because I've made a shelter for you from the rain, you are not to think I like having you here in our garden. I just happened to have nothing else to do today."

24 [41]The cats sat still and stared at him. Then - each one WINKED one big, round, yellow-green eye.

3-3-25 [42]And so summer went slowly by.

[43]The cats began to be not quite so skinny, scraggly, scrawny, because the woman fed them every day. They began to feel good.

[44]And when cats feel good - as you've probably noticed - they begin to wash themselves. They washed and they washed, and they washed away their smudge of city soot. They washed so hard, they even washed away their fleas!

4-1-26 [45]Then one day, winter came. All of a sudden, it snowed and the wind was wild. The man and woman stayed indoors, warm and snug.

27 [46]The cats huddled together under the icicles in the little garden. The man and woman almost couldn't see them through the thick frost on the window. But they knew they were there. Because now they knew that the cats had no other place to go to.

4-2-28 [47]"I think I'll do a bit of building at my work-bench in the basement," said the man. "Just to get some practice, you understand."

[48]He worked all day, hammering and sawing. He worked almost all night, too.

29 [49]The woman could not sleep for all the racket he was making. Bamm-Buzz. Bamm-Bang. Bang. Bang.

[50]And she could not sleep in the quiet in between. Because then she could hear the mewing of the cats in the cold quiet of the snow.

30 [51]In the morning she ran to the window.

[52]What did she see?

[53]Yes! Cats! But look! What else?

[54]A row of tiny houses!

31 [55]They went into the garden - the man and the woman. This time he did not shout and stamp. This time she did not scold and swish her apron.

[56]This time they said, "At first we did not want you here. But now we must admit that we've come to like having you for our very own. We know now that there is room for all of us in this pretty garden."

32 [57]The cats sat and stared at them.

[58]But this time their big, round, yellow-green eyes - SMILED!

Rowand, P. 1966. "The cats who stayed for dinner." B. Ireson (ed.) *The Faber Book of Nursery Stories*. London: Faber & Faber. 152-156.

TEXT 3: GFM

Superscripted numbers indicate moves. References to this text are made in the form of e.g. *GFM:1*, which stands for 'move 1.'

[1]From the entrance, on the r. is a GUERNSEY KITCHEN of a hundred years ago, with a lady taking a loaf of bread out of the furze oven, a table set for dinner and many examples of furniture and utensils used at this time, including bacon rack, dresser, baby's high chair, wooden box mousetrap etc. [2]Opposite the front door is a glass case containing a large china doll in christening robes, a christening cushion, capes, bonnets and silver. [3]On the l. side is a VICTORIAN BEDROOM with models of a farmer's

wife in a half tester bed with her new baby. Her small son and the midwife stand nearby. All are dressed in period clothes. [4]On the day bed is laid out a baby's layette and other items include cradle, hipbath, commode and early feeding bottle. [5]In the room off to the l. is a temporary exhibition which changes its theme annually. [6]Leading from the courtyard is the CART ROOM with a collection of horse-drawn vehicles including a carroine, bosse (horse bus), vanne, spring cart, tambre, long cart with a double ox yoke which is common to Guernsey and other articles of interest including harness, panniers, straw saddle and a penny-farthing bicycle.

[7]Upstairs in the PLOUGH ROOM is a great plough 12 1/2 m long, set out for a mixed team of oxen and horse, smaller ploughs and farming equipment including seed drills and ox collars. [8]The other end of the room has a display of a crab pot maker's stand, fisherman's baskets and hooks. [9]Across the yard, opposite the entrance, is the DAIRY with wooden churns, milk cans, early equipment for measuring quantities of milk, and butter moulds. [10]Next to the stairs is a WASH HOUSE, with copper and brass boiling pans, wooden washing machines and a selection of old irons. [11]Upstairs, in the TOOL ROOM is a display of different island stones used in building and as stone weights and corn grinders. [12]In one corner are roof decorations including chimney pots, tiles and acorn finial. [13]Along one side is a model of a quarryman using a spring-jumper to split stone. [14]Another wall displays agricultural hand tools including wooden hayforks. [15]Next door is the CIDER BARN which contains a crusher driven by a horse mill and fed with apples from the loft above. The press, dated 1734, has an impressive wooden screw. [16]On the wall, the Duke of Richmond's map (1787), surveyed by William Gardner, shows where cider apple orchards were situated. [17]In the central courtyard is a collection of farming implements, including a hay loader and a barrel cart.

[18]The main manor has a formal garden with a sunken lawn in front and [19]the rest of the estate offers an interesting walk.

McGregor Eadie, P. 1981. *Blue Guide: The Channel Islands*. London & Tonbridge: Ernest Benn. 69-70.

TEXT 4: EDIN

Superscripted numbers in the text indicate moves. Paragraphs are also numbered, see the highlighted numbers at their outset. References to this text are made in the form of e.g. *EDIN 1/1*, which stands for 'paragraph 1, move 1.'

Chapter 10

THE LANARK ROUTE

* * *

Haymarket Station - Caledonian Distillery - Dalry House - Saughton Park - Stenhouse Mansion - Craiglockhart Dell - Redhall Mill - Slateford - Hailes House - Spylaw - Juniper Green - Currie - Balerno - Dalmahoy

1 ^{1}From Haymarket station Dalry Road strikes south-west, and leads to the main exit routes to the south-west, to Kilmarnock and Lanark. ^{2}On the north side in Distillery Lane is the CALEDONIAN DISTILLERY (1855), one of two in the city, producing bulk grain whisky by the continuous patent-still process for blending. When built it contained the largest whisky still in Scotland. ^{3}By the gate is a traditional farmhouse of 1740 recently restored as an architect's office. ^{4}Off Dalry Road in Orwell Place is DALRY HOUSE, a mid 17th-century mansion restored and somewhat altered in 1969 as an old people's day centre. The house is an oblong 3-storey block with 2 semi-hexagonal towers capped with ogee roofs; the one at the south-west corner is a 19th-century addition. ^{5}Inside is a notable 17th-century ceiling. The house was built for the Chieslie family of Dalry.

2 ^{6}At the south end of Dalry Road the route divides and Gorgie Road continues south-west as the A71 Kilmarnock road. ^{7}A short distance beyond, in Wheatfield Road, is the city's other distillery, the North British, also producing bulk grain whisky for blending. ^{8}At the junction of Balgreen Road is SAUGHTON PARK, containing an outstanding group of gardens, including a rose garden of 15,000 blooms, an Italian garden, dahlia garden and, for the benefit of the blind, a scented garden.

3 [9]On the south side of Gorgie Road, in Stenhouse Mill Lane, is STENHOUSE MANSION, a scheduled monument owned by the National Trust for Scotland and used by the Department of the Environment as a restoration centre for other historic properties. The house is an oblong block with 2 projecting wings; the oldest part is the mid 16th-century north wing, but the majority of the house dates from 1623, and was built by Patrick Ellis, an Edinburgh merchant. [10]Over the main door is a lintel with the arms and initials of Ellis, the date 1623, and the motto, 'Blisit be God for all giftis'. The present restoration dates from 1964, by Ian G. Lindsay.

4 [11]We return to the end of Dalry Road, where Ardmillan Terrace leads to Slateford Road and the main route to the villages of Currie and Balerno, now within the extended City of Edinburgh District, and the main route to Lanark. [12]At the corner of Newmarket Road are the city's principal grain and cattle markets, moved here in 1911 from the Grassmarket, where a weekly market had been held since 1477. [13]Immediately beyond the canal bridge Craiglockhart Avenue runs east off the main road. [14]Craiglockhart Parish Church on its north side is an interesting example of Scots Gothic by George Henderson, 1899. [15]In Craiglockhart Dell Road is Craiglockhart House, an early 19th-century residence with some Tudor detail. [16]Craiglockhart Drive South leads to Redhall House, by James Robertson, 1758, 2-storey with attics and basement, pedimented front and Ionic columned porch with balustraded balcony; the house was extensively altered in 1900. [17]An earlier Redhall House on the same site was the property of Sir Adam Otterburn, Lord Advocate of Scotland under James V, and was the scene of a siege by 10 companies of Cromwell's troops in 1650, after Sir David Leslie's Scottish army had foiled them in their attempt to break the defences of Edinburgh.

5 [18]South of Redhall, in Craiglockhart Park, no. 1 (Dunderach) is a private house by Lorimer, 1904, in Scots 17th-century style in snecked rubble with bell roof features.

6 [19]Back on the main road is the entrance to CRAIGLOCKHART DELL and the start of a pleasant woodland walk which follows the Water of Leith through Colinton Dell, continues out of the city to the village of Balerno, and leads eventually into the Pentland Hills. The walk has been improved and extended by the conversion of an old railway trackbed, and includes a disused railway tunnel. [20]The first stage of the path, from here to Colinton, passes the old grotto of Craiglockhart House, in early 19th-century Gothic. [21]A short distance further on is the disused Redhall Mill, a mid 19th-century sawmill with Victorian water turbine and water-driven timber dressing machinery.

7 [22]Opposite the path entrance on Lanark Road is Slateford Aqueduct, carrying the Union Canal over the Water of Leith on 8 arches, by Hugh Baird, 1822. [23]Behind it is the railway viaduct (John Miller, 1842), carrying the former Caledonian Railway from Edinburgh to Carstairs on 14 segmental arches.

8 [24]Opposite Inglis Green Road, the Cross Keys Inn is mid 19th century with railed forestair at the rear. [25]The adjacent Slateford United Presbyterian Church (now premises of G. Laing and Co.), is c. 1783, renovated 1826, with a square corbelled bellcote with ogee cap and weathercock. [26]The adjoining Old Manse is c. 1800. [27]No. 53, Slateford House, now an architect's office, is 18th century.

9 [28]In Redhall Bank Road, off the south side of Lanark Road, is an eccentric block of quarriers' cottages by Sir James Gowans, c. 1850, built, unusually for this area, of a type of Kentish Rag stone. [29]Nearby in the same road is Millbank, an 18th-century house with pediment, roundel and stone stair.

10 [30]Opposite Kingsknowe golf course on Lanark Road is Hailes Avenue, containing Hailes House (Sir James Clerk, c. 1767) a 2-storey house (now a hotel) with William and Mary detail including a decorative doorway with Gothic fanlight, corniced windows, scrolled chimneys and moulded eaves course.

11 [31]A short distance beyond on the south side of Lanark Road are the streets of SPYLAW, containing several private houses by Lorimer. [32]No. 3 Spylaw Avenue (Acharra) is of 1897, in English traditional style. [33]No. 10 Spylaw Park (Hartfell) is of 1899, with additions of 1905-9 in a mixture of Scots and English traditional, decorated with a small angle tower. [34]No. 47 Spylaw Bank Road (Glenlyon) is also in Scots-English traditional, with bow and loggia features, [35]as is no. 49 (Almora). [36]No. 52 is by A. Balfour Paul, 1899, built as the Sir William Fraser Homes, with extensive 17th-century Scots detail, including moulded doorpieces, crowsteps, angle towers, and open pavilions with ogee leaded roofs. [37]No. 1

Spylaw Bank Road is 18th century. [38]No. 1 Pentland Road (Lorimer, 1915) is English traditional with some fine detail.

12 [39]Gillespie Road contains four more examples of Lorimer's domestic work, at nos. 14, 21, 26 and 32, built 1895-8.

13 [40]At Juniper Green, [41]where (at no. 547 Lanark Road) there is an 18th-century manse originally built as the dower house of Woodland House nearby, the road crosses the old city boundary and enters the village of CURRIE, now part of City of Edinburgh District.

14 [42]To the north of the main road here is Baberton House, a traditional Scots mansion of 1622 built for Sir James Murray, master of works to King James VI, and with the date and initials of Murray and his wife Katherine Weir on the pedimented dormers. [43]Currie village has an attractive row of early 19th-century cottages in the main street adjoining the Riccarton Arms, and there is a Georgian style parish church of 1785. [44]In the next village of BALERNO is Malleny House, also built c. 1635, for Sir James Murray, later passing to the Scott family, and to the Earl of Rosebery in 1882. The house, in traditional Scots style with a Georgian addition, is now owned by the National Trust for Scotland; it is privately occupied, but its attractive formal gardens are open to the public.

15 [45]Beyond Balerno, on the north side of the main A70 road, are the twin hills of Kaimes and Dalmahoy, each with the faint remains of an Iron Age hill-fort on its summit.

Hamilton, A. 1978. *Essential Edinburgh*. London: André Deutsch. 158-161.

APPENDIX 2. *Native speakers' paragraphing of the sample texts.*

Description of the test:

The four sample texts were printed out on separate sheets in the same order as in Appendix 1. After the title, each text appeared in an unparagraphed form. The subjects were asked to paragraph the texts according to their own preference. Each of them did the task when and where s/he chose to, with no specific time limit, and then returned it to the contact person, who made a descriptive note on the test person at the back of the sheet. Though the subjects were told that they could indicate alternative paragraphings and/or comment on what they had done, none of them did so.

The subjects were educated, native speakers of English, aged 20-50, half of them female, half male. Most of them were British, two were Americans, and one was Australian. Eleven of the 17 subjects were language professionals, such as translators or students of languages. In Tables 1 to 4, below, language professionals are grouped together but the total number of the responses is too small for a comparison between their paragraph markings and those of the rest of the subjects.

Key to Tables 1-4:

x = signal of paragraph boundary
A = the subject is a language professional
A = the subject is not a language professional
N. of move = number of move
N. of epis. = number of episode
N. of sent./S = number of sentence
N. of par. = number of paragraph in the original
Total number = the total number of paragraph markings at the outset of a given sentence
% of the pot. 16/17 = this column indicates how many percent of the potential paragragh markings (N=16/17) appear at the outset of a particular sentence

Table 1. BEARS: Results of the paragraphing task.

N. of epis.	N. of sent.	Subject:																	Total number:	% of the pot. 17:
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q		
1	1																		-	-
	2								x										1	6 %
	3		x	x			x		x		x				x				6	35 %
	4																		-	-
2	5	x	x		x		x	x		x					x			x	8	47 %
3	6			x		x	x		x		x	x	x	x		x	x		10	59 %
	7																		-	-
	8																		-	-
	9		x														x		2	12 %
	10																x		1	6 %
	11			x			x	x					x		x				5	29 %
4	12	x								x	x	x				x		x	6	35 %
	13		x						x										2	12 %
	14																		-	-
	15																		-	-
	16																		-	-
	17		x														x		2	12 %
5	18	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	17	100 %
	19																		-	-
	20																		-	-
6	21																		-	-
	22																		-	-
7	23																		-	-
	24																		-	-
	25																		-	-
8	26	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	17	100 %
	27																		-	-
	28																		-	-
9	29																		-	-
	30																		-	-
	31																		-	-
	32	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	17	100 %
10	33		x														x		2	12 %
	34		x														x	x	3	18 %
	35		x														x	x	3	18 %
	36																		-	-
11	37	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	16	94 %
	38		x														x		2	12 %
	39		x														x	x	3	18 %
	40		x														x	x	3	18 %
12	41	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	16	94 %
	42		x														x		2	12 %
	43		x														x	x	3	18 %
	44		x														x	x	3	18 %
13	45	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	13	76 %
	46			x										x					2	12 %
14	47																		-	-
	48																		-	-

Table 2. CATS: Results of the paragraphing task.

KEY: **Number of episode:**
3-2:22 = section 3, sub-section 2, episode 22
Number of paragraph/sentence:
17 = paragraph 17, sentence 1 in the paragraph
(sentence 1 unless indicated differently:)
18 3 = paragraph 18, sentence 3 in the paragraph

N. of epis.	N. of par/S	Subject:																	Total number:	% of the pot. 17:
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q		
1-1: 1	1																		-	-
	2																		-	-
2	3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	17	100 %
	4																		-	-
	5																		-	-
	6																		-	-
3	7	x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	12	71 %
	8																x		1	6 %
4	9					x			x								x		3	18 %
1-2: 5	10	x	x	x			x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	12	71 %
	11																		-	-
6	12	x	x				x			x	x	x			x				7	41 %
	13																		-	-
2-1: 7	14	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	17	100 %
8	15																		-	-
9	16		x				x	x			x				x	x			6	35 %
	17																		-	-
	18								x										1	6 %
	3								x			x					x		3	18 %
10	19	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	13	76 %
	20																		-	-
	21																		-	-
	22																		-	-
11	23																		-	-
2-2:12	24	x	x	x				x	x		x		x	x	x	x			10	59 %
13	25									x									1	6 %
3-1:14	26	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	16	94 %
	27 1								x										1	6 %
	2								x										1	6 %
	3									x									1	6 %
15	28							x			x								2	12 %
	29																		-	-
16	30	x						x			x								3	18 %
17	31							x			x								2	12 %
18	32	x						x			x								3	18 %
19	33																		-	-
20	34	x	x			x					x				x		x	x	7	41 %
21	35		x						x	x									3	18 %
3-2:22	36	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	17	100 %
	37																		-	-
	38								x								x		2	12 %
	39	x	x						x		x						x		5	29 %
23	40								x								x	x	3	18 %
24	41		x						x	x	x						x		5	29 %
3-3:25	42	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	15	88 %
	43					x						x							2	12 %
	44																		-	-
4-1:26	45	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	16	94 %
27	46																		-	-
4-2:28	47	x	x				x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	11	65 %
	48		x		x				x								x		4	23 %
29	49										x								1	6 %
	50																		-	-
30	51		x	x				x	x	x	x		x		x				8	47 %
	52																		-	-
	53											x							1	6 %
	54																		-	-
31	55 1	x	x			x		x		x				x		x		x	8	47 %
	2														x		x		2	12 %
	56								x										1	6 %
32	57		x					x	x	x	x								5	29 %
	58								x										1	6 %

Table 3. **GFM: Results of the paragraphing task.**

KEY: **Number of move:**

1 = major move
1 = mid-move
1 = minor move

Number of paragraph/sentence:

1 2 = paragraph 1, sentence 2 in the text

N. of move	N. of par/S	Subject:																Total number:	% of the pot. 16:
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P		
1	1 1																	-	-
2	2	x		x			x	x			x				x			6	38 %
3	3	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	13	81 %
	4																	-	-
	5																	-	-
4	6				x													1	6 %
5	7	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x				x	x			10	63 %
6	8	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	14	88 %
7	2 9	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		14	88 %
8	10			x							x							2	13 %
9	11	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	15	94 %
10	12	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		12	75 %
11	13	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	15	94 %
12	14																	-	-
13	15																	-	-
14	16																	-	-
15	17	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	16	100 %
	18																	-	-
16	19																	-	-
17	20	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	13	81 %
18/19	3 21	x	x	x		x	x	x		x		x		x	x			10	63 %

Table 4. **EDIN: Results of the paragraphing task.**

KEY: **Number of move:**
1 = major move; 1 = minor move
Number of paragraph/sentence:
1 2 = paragraph 1, sentence 2 in the paragraph

N. of move:	N. of par/S:		Subject:																Total number:	% of the pot. 16:
			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P		
1	1	1																	-	-
2		2		x											x	x			3	19 %
		3																	-	-
3		4			x														1	6 %
4		5	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	14	88 %
		6																	-	-
5		7																	-	-
		8			x														1	6 %
6	2	1	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	15	94 %
7		2						x							x	x			3	19 %
8		3	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		13	81 %
9	3	1	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	15	94 %
		2										x							1	6 %
10		3																	-	-
		4																	-	-
11	4	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	16	100 %
12		2		x	x			x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x		10	63 %
13		3	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x		x	x	x		12	75 %
14		4																	-	-
15		5		x				x	x			x			x	x			6	38 %
16		6		x				x		x	x		x		x	x		x	8	50 %
17		7										x							1	6 %
18	5	1		x	x			x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x		10	63 %
19	6	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	15	94 %
		2																	-	-
20		3	x					x				x			x	x	x		6	38 %
21		4		x	x			x		x			x		x				6	38 %
22	7	1		x			x	x	x		x			x	x	x		x	9	56 %
23		2													x				1	6 %
24	8	1	x	x	x			x	x			x	x		x	x			9	56 %
25		2									x				x				2	13 %
26		3													x				1	6 %
27		4																	-	-
28	9	1	x	x	x			x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	12	75 %
29		2					x							x	x				3	19 %
30	10	1		x	x			x			x	x	x		x	x			8	50 %
31	11	1	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	12	75 %
32		2																	-	-
33		3																	-	-
34-5		4	x																1	6 %
36		5										x							1	6 %
37		6		x							x								2	13 %
38		7																	-	-
39	12	1							x				x		x		x		4	25 %
40-41	13	1	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	13	81 %
42	14	1			x	x				x			x		x	x			6	38 %
43		2		x	x				x		x	x	x		x	x	x		9	56 %
44		3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	16	100 %
		4																	-	-
45	15	1	x	x	x			x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	12	75 %

APPENDIX 3. *Information status of adverbials of time and place signalling a TSC in the sample texts.*

Abbreviations:

BN = Brand-new

BN$_A$ (---) = Brand-new Anchored (ANCHOR^{type})

U = Unused

I (---)/--- = Inferrable (ENTITY INFERRABLE FROM$^{type\ of\ such\ entity}$)/ inference-type

I$_C$ (---)/--- = Containing Inferrable (CONTAINED ENTITY INFERRABLE FROM$^{type\ of\ such\ entity}$)/inference-type

E = Textually Evoked

E$_S$ = Situationally Evoked

1. BEARS

Abbreviations: S = Section; Sub = Sub-section; EI = Episode-internal move

Key to strategy markers: CAPITALS = initial placement; (CAPITALS) = non-initial placement

NUMBER OF EPISODE:		**STRATEGY MARKER:**	**INFORMATION STATUS:**
1	S	ONCE UPON A TIME	U
2	Sub	EVERY MORNING	**I** (LIVED^{BN}) / habits of life; more background knowledge
3	S	ONE MORNING	**I$_C$** (MORNING^{E}) / 'one morning' is an instance of 'every morning'; set-membership

	S	WHILE THE BEARS WERE OUT WALKING	E; or $\mathbf{I}_C$ (BEARS^{E}; WALK^{E}) / an instance of the bears' habit (cf. episode 2); temporal conjunction indicates the move by specification
	EI	FIRST	U
	EI	THEN	I (FIRST^{U}) / sequence of actions and events
4	Sub	(SUDDENLY)	U
5	EI	FIRST	U
6		THEN	I (FIRST^{U}) / sequence of actions and events
9	EI	AS SOON AS GOLDILOCKS CLIMBED IN	$\mathbf{I}_C$ (GOLDILOCKS^{E}) / G. felt tired; she finally found a bed that was just right; as a result, she climbed in to take a nap; temporal conjunction indicates the move
	EI/S	JUST THEN	E
13	S	(AT ONCE)	BN
	EI	WHEN SHE SAW THE THREE BEARS	$\mathbf{I}_C$ (SHE^{E}; THE THREE BEARS^{E}) / G. woke up because the three bears were back, noisy around her; as a result, she obviously saw them; temporal conjunction indicates the move
14	EI	(NEVER --- AGAIN)	U

2. CATS

Abbreviations: S = Section; Sub = Sub-section; EI = Episode-internal move; EF = Episode-final element

Key to strategy markers: CAPITALS = initial placement; (CAPITALS) = non-initial placement; lower case = locative marker

NUMBER OF EPISODE:		STRATEGY MARKER:	INFORMATION STATUS:
1	S	ONE EVENING	**BN**; or **BN**$_A$ (IN SPRING^U)
	S	IN SPRING	**U**
	EI	just outside their door	**I**$_C$ (THEIR^E DOOR^I) / houses have doors; outside a door is a location, where something may be situated
2		THE NEXT MORNING	**I** (ONE EVENING$^{BN}{}_{(A)}$) / evenings are followed by mornings
		AS SOON AS THEY WOKE UP	**I**$_C$ (THEY^E) / one normally wakes up in the morning; temporal conjunction indicates the move by specification
5	Sub	ALL DAY	**I** (THE NEXT MORNING^I) / mornings are followed by days
7	S	THAT NIGHT	**I**$_C$ (THAT^I) / days end in nights
8		EVERY NIGHT	**I**$_C$ (NIGHT^E) / set-membership - particular to general: 'that night' is an instance of 'every night'; explication to previous move
10		THE NEXT MORNING	**I** (THAT NIGHT$^I{}_C$) / nights end in mornings
11	EI	THEN	**I** ('previous action'; implicit 'first') / sequence of actions and events
12	Sub	EVERY DAY	**I** (THE NEXT MORNING^I) / mornings are followed by days
14	S	ONE EVENING	**BN**
	EF	(ON MONDAY)	**U**
15		ON TUESDAY	**I** (ON MONDAY^U) / Mondays are followed by Tuesdays

16		ON WEDNESDAY	I (ON TUESDAY^{I}) / Tuesdays are followed by Wednesdays
17		ON THURSDAY	I (ON WEDNESDAY^{I}) / Wednesdays are followed by Thursdays
18		ON FRIDAY	I (ON THURSDAY^{I}) / Thursdays are followed by Fridays
19		THEN	I ('previous event and action') / sequence of actions and events
21	EI	THEN	I ('previous event'; implicit 'first') / sequence of actions and events
22	Sub	ON SUNDAY	I (ON FRIDAY^{I}) / this is the Sunday that follows the days listed in episodes 14 - 18
	EI	from their window	I_C (THEIR^{E}) / houses have windows; in rainy weather, people stay inside, and therefore, they see what happens outside through their windows
24	EI	THEN	I ('previous event'; implicit 'first') / sequence of actions and events
25	EI	WHEN CATS FEEL GOOD	E
26	S	THEN	I (AND SO^{I}) / sequence of actions and events
	S	ONE DAY	BN; or BN_A (THEN^{I})
	EI	ALL OF A SUDDEN	BN
27	EI	NOW	E_S; or E
29	EI	THEN	E
30		IN THE MORNING	I (ONE DAY^{BN}(A) -> ALL DAY^{I} -> ALMOST ALL NIGHT^{I}) / mornings follow nights
31	EI	THIS TIME	E_S; or I_C (THIS^{I}) / the time of episode 31; sequence of actions and events
	EI	THIS TIME	E_S; or I_C (THIS^{I}) / cf. above
	EI	THIS TIME	E_S; or I_C (THIS^{I}) / cf. above
32	EI	THIS TIME	E_S; or I_C (THIS^{I}) / the time of episode 32; sequence of actions and events

3. GFM

Key to strategy markers: CAPITALS = adverbial; lower case = locative NP

MOVE/ TYPE OF MOVE:	STRATEGY MARKER:	INFORMATION STATUS:
1 (major)	FROM THE ENTRANCE	I (GUERNSEY FOLK MUSEUM^{U} earlier on in the frame text) / museums (as other buildings) have entrances, which can be taken as starting points for defining locations[1]
	ON THE R.	I (FROM THE ENTRANCE^{I}) / locations may be defined from some point
2 (mid)	OPPOSITE THE FRONT DOOR	I_C (THE FRONT DOOR^{E}) / cf. move 1 above
3 (mid)	ON THE L. SIDE	I (FROM THE ENTRANCE^{I}; or OPPOSITE THE FRONT DOOR$^{I}{}_{C}$) / cf. move 1 above
4 (minor)	ON THE DAY BED	I (VICTORIAN BEDROOM^{BN}) / babies' bedrooms may have day beds; especially in a museum items may be placed on day beds
5 (mid)	IN THE ROOM OFF TO THE L.	I (FROM THE ENTRANCE^{I})/ cf. moves 1 - 3 above
6 (major)	LEADING FROM THE COURTYARD	I (GUERNSEY FOLK MUSEUM^{U}) / museums (as other buildings) may have courtyards, from which one may enter
7 (major)	UPSTAIRS	I (GUERNSEY FOLK MUSEUM^{U}) / museums (as other buildings) may have several floors; often they have two
	IN THE PLOUGH ROOM	I (GUERNSEY FOLK MUSEUM^{U}) / folk museums may contain rooms of this type; or **U**

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[1] *Location* will here be used as a shorthand label for 'position', 'direction', and 'distance'.

8 (minor)	the other end of the room	I_C (THE ROOM^E) / rooms have (two) ends
9 (major)	ACROSS THE YARD	I_C (THE YARD^E) / locations may be defined from some point
	OPPOSITE THE ENTRANCE	I_C (THE ENTRANCE^E) / locations may be defined from some point
10 (mid)	NEXT TO THE STAIRS	I (THE DAIRY^U) / dairies, as any buildings, may have stairs
11 (major)	UPSTAIRS	I (GUERNSEY FOLK MUSEUM^U) / cf. move 7 above
	IN THE TOOL ROOM	I (GUERNSEY FOLK MUSEUM^U) / folk museums may contain rooms of this type; or U
12 (minor)	IN ONE CORNER	I (IN THE TOOL ROOM^I) / rooms have corners
13 (minor)	ALONG ONE SIDE	I (IN THE TOOL ROOM^I) / rooms have sides
14 (minor)	another wall	I_C (WALL^I) / rooms have several (sides or) walls
15 (mid)	NEXT DOOR	I_C (NEXT^I) / next door from the tool room upstairs
16 (minor)	ON THE WALL	I (CIDER BARN^U) / rooms have walls
17 (major)	IN THE CENTRAL COURTYARD	I_C (THE COURTYARD^E) / locations are defined from some point
18 (major)	the main manor	E (HIS GEORGIAN MANOR^{BN}A earlier on in the frame text)
19 (major)	the rest of the estate	I_C (THE ESTATE^E) / an estate may be divided into the main manor, and other buildings, and the rest

4. EDIN

Key to strategy markers: CAPITALS = adverbial in initial position; (CAPITALS) = adverbial in non-initial position; lower case = locative NP; (lower case) = new topic, or other

MOVE/ TYPE OF MOVE:	STRATEGY MARKER:	INFORMATION STATUS:
1	FROM HAYMARKET STATION	E; or I_C (HAYMARKET STATION^E) / locations may be defined from some point
2	ON THE NORTH SIDE	I (DALRY ROAD^U) / roads have sides; they may have a north side
	IN DISTILLERY LANE	U
3 (minor)	BY THE GATE	I (THE CALEDONIAN DISTILLERY^E/IT^E) / distilleries, as other buildings, may have gates
4	OFF DALRY ROAD	I_C (DALRY ROAD^E) / locations may be defined from some point
	IN ORWELL PLACE	U
5 (minor)	INSIDE	I (DALRY HOUSE^E/THE HOUSE^E) / houses have insides and outsides
6	AT THE SOUTH END OF DALRY ROAD	I_C (DALRY ROAD^E) / roads have ends; they may have a south end
7	A SHORT DISTANCE BEYOND	E_S; or I (AT THE SOUTH END OF DALRY ROAD^{I_C}) / locations may be defined from some point
	IN WHEATFIELD ROAD	U
8	AT THE JUNCTION OF BALGREEN ROAD	I (GORGIE ROAD^U) / roads have junctions; Gorgie Road has a junction with Balgreen Road; locations may be defined from some point
9	ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF GORGIE ROAD	I_C (GORGIE ROAD^E) /roads have sides; they may have a south side
	IN STENHOUSE MILL LANE	U

10 (minor)	OVER THE MAIN DOOR	I (STENHOUSE MANSION^{E}/THE HOUSE^{E}) / houses have main doors, over which something may be placed
11	(We return to the end of Dalry Road, where...)	(*to the end of Dalry Road* = E; cf. the strategy-marking adverbial *at the south end of Dalry Road* in move 6 above)
12	AT THE CORNER OF NEWMARKET ROAD	I (THE MAIN ROUTE^{E}) / roads have corners with other roads
13	IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CANAL BRIDGE	I (THE MAIN ROUTE^{E}) / from a map or the situation we may infer that there is a canal bridge on the main route; location defined from this point
14 (minor)	(Craiglockhart Parish Church)	U
	(ON ITS NORTH SIDE)	I (CRAIGLOCKHART AVENUE^{U}) / roads have sides; they may have a north side; location may be defined from some point
15	IN CRAIGLOCKHART DELL ROAD	U
16	Craiglockhart Drive South	U
17 (minor)	(an earlier Redhall House)	BN$_{A}$; or I$_{C}$ (REDHALL HOUSE$^{U/BN}$) / houses may have predecessors with the same name
	(ON THE SAME SITE)	E
18	SOUTH OF REDHALL	I$_{C}$ (REDHALL^{E}) / locations may be defined from some point
	IN CRAIGLOCKHART PARK	U
19	BACK ON THE MAIN ROAD	I$_{C}$ (ON THE MAIN ROAD^{E}) / after a digression one may return to the main road again; or E
20 (minor)	the first stage of the path	I$_{C}$ (THE PATH^{E}) / paths may be divided into various parts
	(FROM HERE)	E$_{S}$; or I$_{C}$ (HERE^{E}) / locations may be defined from some point
	(TO COLINTON)	U

21 (minor)	A SHORT DISTANCE FURTHER ON	E_S; or I (THE OLD GROTTO OF C. HOUSE^U) / locations may be defined from some point
22	OPPOSITE THE PATH ENTRANCE	I_C (THE PATH ENTRANCE^E) / locations may be defined from some point
	ON LANARK ROAD	E
23 (minor)	BEHIND IT	I_C (IT^E) / locations may be defined from some point
24	OPPOSITE INGLIS GREEN ROAD	U
25 (minor)	(the adjacent Slateford United Presbyterian Church)	I_C (ADJACENT^I) / buildings are located side by side in towns and cities
26 (minor)	(the adjoining Old Manse)	I_C (ADJOINING^I) / cf. move 25 above
27 (minor)	(no. 53, Slateford House)	I (LANARK ROAD^E) / houses may have street-numbers in their addresses
28	IN REDHALL BANK ROAD	U
	OFF THE SOUTH SIDE OF LANARK ROAD	I_C (LANARK ROAD^E) / roads have sides; they may have a south side; locations may be defined from some point
29 / (minor)	NEARBY	E_S; or I (A BLOCK OF QUARRIERS' COTTAGES^{BN}) / locations may be defined from some point
	IN THE SAME ROAD	E
30	OPPOSITE KINGSKNOWE GOLF COURSE	U
	ON LANARK ROAD	E
31	A SHORT DISTANCE BEYOND	E_S; or I (OPPOSITE K. GOLF COURSE^U ON LANARK ROAD^E) / locations may be defined from some point
	ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF LANARK ROAD	I_C (SOUTH SIDE^E OF LANARK ROAD^E) / locations may be defined from some point

32 (minor)	(no. 3 Spylaw Avenue - Acharra -)	I (THE STREETS OF SPYLAW$^{I}_{C}$; PRIVATE HOUSES BY LORIMER^{BN}) / houses in towns and cities have street-numbers in their addresses, and they may have a name
33 (minor)	(no. 10 Spylaw Park - Hartfell -)	I (cf. move 32 above) / cf. move 32 above
34 (minor)	(no. 47 Spylaw Bank Road - Glenlyon -)	I (cf. move 32 above) / cf. move 32 above
35 (minor)	(no. 49 - Almora -)	I (cf. moves 32 and 34 above) / cf. move 32 above
36 (minor)	(no. 52)	I (cf. moves 32 and 34 above) / cf. move 32 above
37 (minor)	(no. 1 Spylaw Bank Road)	I (cf. move 32 above) / cf. move 32 above
38 (minor)	(no. 1 Pentland Road)	I (cf. move 32 above) / cf. move 32 above
39	Gillespie Road	U
40	AT JUNIPER GREEN, WHERE	E
41 (minor)	AT NO. 547 LANARK ROAD	I$_{C}$ (LANARK ROAD^{E}) / houses in towns and cities have street-numbers in their addresses; locations may be defined from some point
42	TO THE NORTH OF THE MAIN ROAD	I$_{C}$ (THE MAIN ROAD^{E}) / locations may be defined from some point
	HERE	E$_{S}$; or E
43 (minor)	Currie village	E
44	IN THE NEXT VILLAGE OF BALERNO	E
45	BEYOND BALERNO	I$_{C}$ (BALERNO^{E}) / locations may be defined from some point
	ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE MAIN A70 ROAD	I$_{C}$ (THE NORTH SIDE^{E} OF THE MAIN A70 ROAD^{E}) / locations may be defined from some point

This book deals with discourse functions of adverbial placement in contemporary written English. The scope of the study is limited to clause-initial adverbials of time and place in narratives and procedural place descriptions.

The perspective from which adverbials are viewed in this study fundamentally differs from that used in most work done so far in the field: adverbial placement is shown to be affected, and often determined, by factors working outside the particular clause or sentence in which the adverbial appears. A detailed analysis of a number of near-prototype texts shows that important textual and discoursal motivations behind adverbial placement include text type, text strategies, information dynamics, and experiential iconicity.

A conceptual analysis of a number of central notions in the study of text and discourse is provided, and a text-typological model for the study of texts is outlined. The study thus also contributes more generally to our knowledge of text and discourse.

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